THE
NATION

JUNE 14, 1958 . . 25c

DE GAULLE

Symbol of Western Crisis

Alexander Werth and Geoffrey Barraclough

FACT AND FABLE OF FALLOUT

Linus Pauling

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LETTERS

Humphrey on Disarmament

Dear Sirs: May I compliment you on the excellent article by Senator Humphrey in *The Nation* of May 24? No issue is so vitally important just now as disarmament, and none is less intelligently dealt with by a majority of our people. Perhaps *The Nation* will feel it can support the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in its pages.*

ANN HUBBELL

Ypsilanti, Mich.

**We do.—Ed.*

The Incompetent Teacher . . .

Dear Sirs: I wish to take sharp issue with Irving Adler's statement, "The moderately capable college graduate . . . can become a competent craftsman" ("Teacher Shortage: Cause and Cure" by Irving Adler, *The Nation*, May 10). But I must begin by agreeing, if Mr. Adler means a moderately competent student at Columbia, Amherst, Oberlin, Caltech, etc. There is a minority of colleges of which this would be true; of the majority, it is untrue. Furthermore, teachers—with many individual exceptions, of course—are recruited not from the mean, but from the lower levels, of college classes.

Relevant data will be found in a Viking (1957) book, *The Next Hundred Years*, by Caltech teachers Brown, Bonner and Weir: "In a recent study, the Educational Testing Service observed sixty mathematics teachers at the elementary- and secondary-school levels. It was found that only ten were competent to teach mathematics."

This is a thing I have long been interested in from close observation during my own teaching in grade and high school, in college and medical school. Mathematics, even eighth-grade arithmetic, requires more intelligence on the part of the teacher than that possessed by at least 20 per cent of medical-school graduates in the South. Examples are enlightening. A woman in medical school had taught physics in high school; she could not solve the simplest arithmetical problems. . . . A grade school teacher whom I knew well could not have solved the problems in seventh- and eighth-grade arithmetic (she taught these grades). . . . Sixty per cent of the students admitted to medical school from Southwestern Louisiana Institute failed during the several years when I was in contact; yet these students had B averages or better at S.L.I.—and the moron with a memory got by.

Mr. Adler's error is in regarding Columbia students as average. I recall no precise figures, but the mean percentile ratings of Columbia students on old "medical aptitudes" tests was about 80; New York University, higher I think; Oberlin, 90; Princeton and Harvard, high; Fordham, low; Wake Forest, about 10; S.L.I. (one year), hardly 5; Southern state universities, in general 30 to 40. Factors: both inheritance (most important, I'm sure) and environmental. A *rare* S.L.I. student was quite good in medical school—again evidence for the usefulness of "I.Q." tests. Even S.L.I. couldn't keep all intelligence out.

RICHARD ASHMAN

New Orleans, La.

. . . and Mr. Adler's Reply

Mr. Ashman cites various personal experiences to show that many college graduates emerge from school poorly prepared. His contention that these graduates are unteachable is merely an assumption, and does not refute my argument that a teacher can, with good supervision, become a competent craftsman, even though he may not be qualified to be classed as a scholar. Incidentally, my experience is not limited, as Mr. Ashman implies, to "superior" Columbia University students. I taught for twenty years in public schools. My pupils during most of this time were among those Mr. Ashman calls "dullards."

Mr. Ashman has unwittingly refuted one of the comments made by Mr. Howe in his review of my book, *What We Want of Our Schools*. Mr. Howe said that when I criticize the uncritical use of I. Q. scores as though they measure innate ability I am beating a dead horse. Mr. Ashman's letter shows that the horse is alive and kicking.

IRVING ADLER

New York City

Avuncular Mr. Dulles

Dear Sirs: Your correspondent, Michael A. Visaggio, wishes us to recognize the service to our country performed by John Foster Dulles (letters column, issue of May 31). If Mr. Dulles' labors in behalf of the welfare of his fellow Americans are so difficult to recognize, it must be the result of his very modest accomplishments.

On the face of it, I have always considered Mr. Dulles to be the finest Secretary of State the German cartels have ever had in America and that the project nearest his heart was the reassembling of an armed Germany, Fascist if possible, Nazi if necessary. Of course, Mr. Dulles also has an avuncular side interest in the lesser Fascists like Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek and a batch of Latin-American dictators.

S. A. RUSSELL

Reno, Nevada

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1958
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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Resistance in Arkansas

Some months back *The Nation* expressed the view that the law-abiding element in Arkansas would, if given an opportunity, repudiate the actions of Governor Faubus. More recently, we reaffirmed this conviction ("Faubus Once Again," *The Nation,* March 29, 1953), albeit with some qualifications. Now, we are pleased to note, it is certain that Faubus will be vigorously opposed in his bid for a third term. The Democratic primary, tantamount to election in Arkansas, is scheduled for July 29. Governor Faubus has three opponents: Chancery Judge Lee Ward, from eastern Arkansas; Chris E. Finkbeiner, a well-to-do meat packer of Little Rock, and Robert J. Brown, a Little Rock lawyer whose candidacy is not taken seriously. Both Finkbeiner and Judge Ward are strong candidates. Three former governors, Sid McGrath, Ben Laney and Francis Cherry have come out against Faubus. On balance, Judge Ward, who appears to be the strongest of the contenders, has a good chance of forcing a runoff with Faubus and, with the field thus narrowed, of defeating him.

The stakes, for all of us, are high. Should Faubus win a smashing victory at the primary, the effect will be to strengthen the Dixiecrat element in the South and to complicate and delay the process of integration. If he is re-elected, the nation may anticipate another spectacle of the kind that occurred with the opening of Central High School last year. Judge Ward is not an integrationist, but he believes "first of all in law and order." In any event, the proper first steps have been taken and the voters will now be given a chance to repudiate the Governor who caused the words "Little Rock" to be shouted with derision around the world. The Arkansas primary of July 29 will command a top priority in the political expectations of all thoughtful citizens.

The California Story

Los Angeles

The wild Western everyone watched last week was one in which the Democratic Party came up with a formidable gun and can look forward to real traveling. California's cross-filing primary, recently modified to allow party identification to be shown on the ballot but still allowing Republicans to run in Democratic primaries and vice versa, converted the June 3 primary into a popularity contest. Last week, in spite of a fantastic war chest and last-minute campaign assistance from Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Senator William F. Knowland faced the first real opposition of his political career—at least since he ran against Will Rogers, Jr., for the Senate—and discovered that he is nowhere near as popular as he thought he was. In the race for governor, Attorney General Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown took more Republican votes than Knowland got from the Democrats. (Brown received 85 per cent of the Democratic vote as well as 25 per cent of the Republican vote; Knowland got only 75 per cent of the Republican vote, plus 15 per cent of the Democratic.) But the tremendous plurality which has been built up by Brown is only a part of the California story. California registered more Democrats than Republicans for a generation, but Republicans, with rare exceptions,

To *Nation* Subscribers

During July and August, *The Nation* will appear on alternate weeks only. It will be published as follows: July 5, July 19, August 2, August 16 and August 30.

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have been continuously elected to major offices. Last week, for the first time, the four-to-three Democratic lead in registration held up in the votes all the way down through the minor offices. The only exception was in the Senate race, where Congressman Clair Engle, known by his own count to only 22 per cent of California's voters a month before the primary, got the Democratic nomination but not a majority of the state's votes. However, a very sizable proportion of the votes cast for Mayor George Christopher of San Francisco, who was contesting the Republican primary with Governor Goodwin Knight, will in all probability shift to the Democratic nominee in November.

Liberal Democrats have long dreamed of a "solid West" that would enable the party nationally to free itself from indenture to the segregationists of the South; but California was essential to such a plan. Now, with Pat Brown pledged to an uncompromising civil rights position at the 1960 convention and solidly in front with California voters, there seems to be genuine hope for this dream. The Republican powers who have ruled the state for years will not let go easily, and the fall campaign will probably see religious bigotry (Brown is a Catholic), personal slander and gross misrepresentation, but with Knowland's right-to-work campaign apparently proven irrelevant by the voters, it now appears that Knowland cannot win; for him to become governor, Brown would have to lose. In point of fact the right-to-work initiative has not yet been qualified for the November ballot and there appears to be considerable doubt that the requisite signatures can be obtained in order to place this measure, with which Knowland's campaign is closely identified, on the ballot.

An interesting sidelight was provided in the Republican primary for Attorney General. Congressman Pat Hillings, a Nixon protégé, was trailing State Assemblyman Caspar Weinberger, in spite of a ridiculous suggestion by Fulton Lewis, Jr., that the conservative Weinberger was a Communist-approved candidate—a suggestion later retracted under threat of libel action—and in spite of Hillings' attempt to capitalize politically on the deportation of Willian Heikkela, in the course of which Hillings told the press of "new evidence" and a "Communist conspiracy" so horrible "we can't tell you about it." Apparently the Nixon technique, if it is still effective at all, is too tricky to be handled by a second-string Nixon. But this is a close race and the count is not complete at this writing.

GENE MARINE

New Tensions

At this writing the Security Council is preparing to debate Lebanon's complaint against Nasser's United Arab Republic. Next on the agenda, for June 18, is a discussion of the Tunisian-French dispute. Both disputes, it is worth noting, are internecine. In the first, one member of the Arab League has filed a complaint against another member. In the second, a power friendly to the West has lodged a formal complaint against a member of the Western Alliance. The circumstance that neither complaint involves a direct East-West conflict gives point to Geoffrey Barraclough's article in this issue (p. 534) on the new frontiers of tension. It also lends emphasis to his observation that NATO actually inhibits the formulation of new policies needed to cope with these new and rapidly evolving conflicts.

For example, it can be plausibly argued that American aid has enabled the French to postpone the necessity of seeking a settlement in Algeria. And, in much the same sense, the Eisenhower Doctrine has aggravated Lebanon's political problems. A member of Mr. Chamoun's cabinet is quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* as saying that the United States is "on the wrong side of a popular issue—nationalism. Your Eisenhower Doctrine and your Sixth Fleet are only hurting your friends." Even Lebanon's pro-Western Foreign Minister, Charles Malik, concedes that the Sixth Fleet's saber-rattling offers "embarrassment" as well as a sense of security. It is no secret that Chamoun might have avoided violent opposition in Lebanon if he had been less openly pro-Western. All of which would suggest that policies which were formulated in the early years of the cold war cannot be mechanically applied, with any hope of success, to these new frontiers of tension.

The Ernst Report

The Nation is glad that General Trujillo invested $100,000 in the Morris Ernst report on the Galindez case. For if we had any doubts that the death of Gerald Murphy and the flight of aircraft N-68100 were connected with the disappearance of Galindez, the report has removed them. Unintentionally, but in a most convincing fashion, Mr. Ernst has placed the noose around the neck of his client and drawn the knot much tighter than it had been drawn by the press. There were, of course, discrepancies and loopholes in the story of N-68100 as it was pieced together by the press. (See "Galindez: the Riddle of the Mystery," by Fred J. Cook, *The Nation*, August 3, 1957.) But Mr. Ernst has verified the facts and reconstructed the events in such a skillful manner that the discrepancies and loopholes have vanished. Indeed, Mr. Ernst must have been acutely aware of the fact that he had brilliantly succeeded in implicating his client to a degree that neither had intended, much less bargained for. For at the close of his remarkable demonstration, he attempts to divert the reader's attention by the sudden, daring and quite illogical suggestion that the plane's destination after it left Florida was not the Dominican Republic but Cuba. No proof whatever is offered to support this theory. All that the reader is told is that the Cuban Government has a file on N-68100 and that confidential

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sources had informed it that the plane arrived in Cuba on March 13 and left the same day. Mr. Ernst does not state that he examined the file or that he interviewed the informants; he merely assures us that the existence of the file disproves the contention that the plane's destination was Trujillo's island paradise. This despite the fact that John Frank; also known as John Kane, recently convicted on a charge of having failed to register as an agent of the Dominican Republic, and Major General Arturo E. Espaillat, former Dominican Consul General in New York, were present with Murphy when the plane was chartered, according to one witness at the Frank trial. It is not often that a rascal, even one as rich and arrogant as Trujillo, finances a study which —its conclusions to the contrary—neatly substantiates the charges it was designed to refute.

"Defense Is a Lie"

The title is borrowed from the Toronto *Daily Star*, the vigor of whose editorializing might well be the envy of many an American newspaper. The *Star* also asks, "Is Our Defense a Colossal Waste?" and concludes it is. The total Canadian military expenditure—$1.7 billion annually—is unimpressive by our own Brobdingnagian standards. The Canadians are billion-pinchers, obviously, but not everybody can be as rich as Uncle Sam and it may be that the stability of Canada's economy does not require military waste on the grand scale of the American. At any rate, the Canadians are grumbling. One complaint is that the Government is spending $40 on "defense" for every $1 spent on aid to underdeveloped nations. Another is that the best the DEW-line can be expected to accomplish, *if* it is adapted for radar detection of missiles—of which the Canadians are clearly skeptical—is to give New York and Washington twelve- to twenty-minutes' notice of their impending destruction. On the proposal to construct counter-missile bases on Canadian soil, the Canadians pour vitriolic scorn, quite unlike the brethren in the Pentagon, who appear, with the farsighted vision of the technological press agent, to regard the most improbable projects as practically accomplished if only we believe in them. If nuclear war comes, the Canadian skeptics point out, some of the ICBMs will get through, and each may be loaded with an explosive power equal to the power of *all* the bombs dropped during World War II. Most technological soothsayers would agree that not *some*, but a *majority*, of the ICBMs will get through.

The disaffection among our Canadian cousins appears to be quite serious and the boldness of their utterances even more so. "There is no defense and no prospect of a genuine defense against all-out nuclear attack," they say unequivocally. ". . . Peace will sooner or later have to rest on something more solid than fear."

Hoover's Law

According to a theorem implied in J. Edgar Hoover's best-selling book, the Communist menace is in inverse ratio to the number of Communists. This doctrine which, like many of the great intellectual discoveries, is self-evident once it is verbalized, will hereinafter be referred to as Hoover's Law.

The Nation is happy to be the first to apply Hoover's Law to an ominous situation which is developing in the fair state of California. It is reported that twenty-six C.P. members have formally left the party. The departed include Oleta O'Connor Yates, Louise Todd and Loretta Starvus Stack in San Francisco, and Celeste Strack and Harry Steinberg in Los Angeles. Steinberg and the Mesdames Yates and Strack are Smith Act defendants, while Miss Todd was state secretary of the party for many years.

Here, obviously, is a situation which cries for action. With the party decimated by resignations, the government of California may be overthrown any minute. Only Mr. Hoover can save it. Let him fly out his janizaries, his wire-tappers and his sleuths. Let him fly out himself. Eleven million Californians cannot sleep peacefully in their beds till Hoover reassures them that the California C.P. is at full strength.

Nehru and Kashmir

Washington

AN AMERICAN diplomat said tartly the other day that Pandit Nehru is too great a man to be consistent. It was the Indian Prime Minister's attitude on Kashmir which provoked this acid remark.

For decades *The Nation* has sided with Jawaharlal Nehru: first, during India's hard struggle for independence; and in the last few years during the United States Government's blundering course in Asia. But like millions of Nehru's other friends, we ruefully parted company with him on the Kashmir issue.

That state in the foothills of the Himalayas and its four million inhabitants are again in the news. On June 4, Nehru, visiting New Delhi during a break in his vacation, announced himself as "frustrated at the growing rift" between his country and Pakistan and stressed his willingness to meet with representatives of the Karachi Government at any level—even the highest—in an attempt to settle differences.

Should this statement mark the beginning of an initiative toward reconciliation, no one would be more pleased than Mr. Nehru's well-wishers, including *The Nation*. The avenues leading to reconciliation have been marked out many times, but nowhere more clearly and more promisingly, in our judgment, than in a report to the United Nations which a distinguished American, Dr. Frank P. Graham, published at the end of March.

Serving as U.N. "good officer" in the Kashmir dispute,

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Dr. Graham spent five weeks in India and Pakistan early this year. In his report, he proposes that:

1. The disputants should reaffirm their peaceful intentions concerning the area.

2. They should promise anew to respect the cease-fire line.

3. The feasibility should be explored of putting a U.N. force on the Pakistan side of the Pakistan-Kashmir border to insure the area's security after Pakistani troops have withdrawn.

4. The parties should seek an understanding on conditions for a Kashmir plebiscite.

5. The Prime Ministers of the two countries should hold a summit conference of their own early this spring under his—Graham's—auspices.

Pakistan accepted the program in principle, agreeing to withdraw its troops from Kashmir simultaneously with removal of the bulk of the Indian forces. Pakistan also assented to the subsequent stationing of U.N. soldiers on its territory along the Kashmir frontier.

India, however, rejected the Graham proposals. With unsolicited solicitude, the Government at New Delhi expressed resentment at the proposal to place foreign troops in the sovereign state of Pakistan, called this "a highly improper and indeed unfriendly act" against her neighbor. It even refused Graham's earnest suggestion that the Premiers meet, arguing that this would equate the aggressor and the aggressed.

Having already proclaimed what amounts to India's annexation of Kashmir, Nehru in effect countenanced only one solution—Pakistan's complete renunciation of Kashmir in India's favor.

NEHRU IS ON record, time after time, as having acquiesced in a plebiscite to let the people of Kashmir determine their destiny. In 1947, telegraphing British Prime Minister Attlee, Nehru said:

> I should like to make it clear that the question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India. Our view, which we have repeatedly made public, is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or State must be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people, and we adhere to this view.

Eight days later, Nehru wired to the Premier of Pakistan:

> I have stated our government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave the final decision to the people of Kashmir. I further stated that we have agreed on an impartial international agency like the United Nations supervising any referendum.

Yet seven years later—in March, 1954—a presidential order extended India's jurisdiction to all Kashmir. How to explain such behavior by a man of Nehru's caliber?

We can think of very few mitigating factors and all of them must be put at John Foster Dulles' door. By drawing Pakistan into SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, Washington fed India's suspicion that she was being squeezed in a strategic pincer. Even more significant is the anxiety which American military aid to Pakistan —presumably aimed at strengthening her against Russia and China—has aroused among Indians. President Eisenhower assured Nehru in writing that this aid would not be directed against India. India, however, has been questioning the worth of that pledge, whose validity seems all the more dubious following ten days' secret U.S.-Pakistan discussions in Washington which ended on May 7. Three important Pakistani representatives attended these talks: Finance Minister Ali Amjad; Mohammed Ayub Kahn, Commander-in-Chief of the Army; and Vice-Marshal Mohammed Asghar, Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force. The trio left here with an assurance that a number of their countrymen may soon undergo training in the United States as jet pilots, navigators and gunners and that—probably next year—twenty to twenty-five American jet bombers will be delivered to Karachi. The Pakistani said frankly that they want American bombers to match some of those in India's Air Force. By meeting the request under such circumstances, the State Department imperils the recent improvement in U.S.-Indian relations and makes Mr. Eisenhower's assurances to Nehru appear meaningless.

SO MUCH, then, for the United States' share in exacerbating the Indo-Pakistani crisis. Still, there is nothing here to justify Nehru's attitude on Kashmir.

Only a few years ago, India's policy on Kashmir appeared accommodating. Graham's recent report recalls that as late as August, 1953, Nehru joined the Pakistan Prime Minister, after a meeting in New Delhi, in recognizing that a Kashmir plebiscite had been agreed upon. Today India opposes a plebiscite. Does Mr. Nehru's conciliatory statement last week indicate a change?

The feud between the two neighboring nations, which were one until eleven years ago, is unspeakably tragic. Each needs every precious rupee available to feed its people and bring order out of economic chaos; yet about 38 per cent of India's and almost 60 per cent of Pakistan's revenues are squandered on armaments. The conflict between them over Kashmir has inspired this comment:

> In this age, any situation engaged by U.N.-sponsored resolutions cannot be isolated from the dynamic currents of the world's concern even by the highest mountains. . . . There rises above the authentic fears, despair and tumult of the times the unconquerable aspiration of the human spirit for the sublimation of thermonuclear power in the cause of peace.
>
> The light of faith and the fires of the inner spirit which in dark times in ages past were lighted among Asian, African and Mediterranean people for people in all lands,

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have shone most nobly in our times in the heroic struggles, liberation and universal aspirations of the people of the historic subcontinent for a freer and fairer life for all.

The peoples of the world might in high response begin again in these shadowed years to transform with faith and good will the potential forces of bitterness, hate and destruction, step by step through the United Nations, toward the way of creative cooperation, economic, social and cultural development, responsible disarmament, self-determination, equal justice under law and peace for all peoples on the earth as the God-given home of the family of man.

These rich, deeply felt words might well have been uttered by that great leader, Nehru. However, they come from Frank Graham, the American good officer in the Kashmir dispute. And the man to whom, above all, they seem to be directed is the Indian Prime Minister.

DE GAULLE: SYMBOL OF CRISIS

1. Can de Gaulle Command His Army?.. *Alexander Werth*

Paris, June 6

WHEN THE Socialist Guy Mollet visited Algiers as Premier of France, he was smothered with tomatoes. General de Gaulle was welcomed there with the deafening cries of a hundred thousand Europeans and was smothered with flowers. Herein lies the embodiment of Algiers' victory over France. Yet the enthusiasm for de Gaulle was perhaps more apparent than real. The Algiers radio, from which Paris radiomen were excluded, continued to stress that the enthusiasm for Soustelle was equal to, if not greater than, that for the General.

The question asked in Paris today is whether de Gaulle in Algeria feels himself to be on friendly or enemy territory. His apparent approval of the Algiers putsch was taken at face value by multitudes of Europeans, but his brief speech upon arrival in the Algerian capital left an enormous number of questions unanswered. Indeed, the speech suggests that de Gaulle is playing for time. Superficially, he seems to have approved the putschists' incongruous idea that henceforth the Arabs and the French will be completely equal. But the same statement on de Gaulle's lips and on the lips of the putschists concealed different mental reservations.

Not once did de Gaulle use the phrase "French Algeria." His reference to Algerian participation in a constitutional referendum did not mean that Algeria thereby automatically becomes a French province. Elections to a single "college," as mentioned by de Gaulle, suggest a revival of the old Soustelle plan whereby French-Arab equality can be outflanked—for example, by obligating the "college" to appoint local assemblies on a fifty-fifty basis (Arabs outnumber Europeans in Algeria eight to one). Similarly, when de Gaulle said that "the rest"—meaning Algeria's real form of government—would be worked out after the election, he left the biggest question unanswered.

The Algerian nationalists have already rejected the General's proposal. De Gaulle seems to have attempted a double operation: (1) to exploit the Moslem population's fear and war-weariness and (2) to call the bluff of the colonialists when they staged their famous "fraternization" with the terrorized Moslems of the Algerian capital. Nothing would suit the French diehards in Algeria less than genuine equality for the Arabs.

The moment he stepped on Algerian soil, de Gaulle began to flatter the Army; yet, deeply infected by colonialism as it is, it is still a question whether the Army is on his side. De Gaulle hesitated to demand the dissolution of the Public Safety Committees; on the other hand, he is reluctant to appoint the extremist Soustelle to the Government.

Here on the mainland, the appearances of the Republic are being maintained, but more or less clandestine Public Safety Committees continue to spring up. They appear to be handy instruments for a coordinated military, and eventually a Fascist, putsch. Apparently de Gaulle is disinclined to disavow them.

At the moment, General de Gaulle gives the impression that he is walking a dangerous tightrope between Paris and Algiers. Whether he can control the Army remains the Number One question.

THE CAUSES of the present crisis go a long way back. The primary cause was the unwillingness, the inability of successive governments, especially since the beginning of 1956, to show the Algerian diehards, and the Army leaders who had come under their influence, who was the master of France. It was the political junta of Algiers, more or less supported by the Army leaders, which for over two years has been dictating policy to Paris. Two strong, bigmouthed men, Jacques Soustelle (formerly de Gaulle's right-hand man and one of the heads of his intelligence service during the war), and Robert Lacoste, the "Socialist" Minister of Algeria since February, 1956, impersonating the growing anti-Arab chauvinism of these last two years, have acted in Paris as the powerful spokesmen of the fight-to-a-finish policy in Algeria. A substantial part of Big Business in France and the whole of Big Business in Algeria supported these men

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *Paris correspondent. His latest book is* Lost Statesman: *The Strange Story of Pierre Mendès-France.*

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in their opposition to a negotiated settlement. The successive French governments (Mollet's, Bourgès-Maunoury's, Gaillard's and, finally, Pflimlin's) were cowed by these men —who also enjoyed the strident support from that partly conservative, partly semi-Fascist segment of the National Assembly on which all these governments depended. Fanatical settlers, exercising more and more influence over the Government-General of Algeria and working in close alliance with the most ruthless and dynamic Army elements, such as the paratroops of General Massu, were in fact shaping both the military and diplomatic actions of Algiers and—indirectly—of Paris. M. Alain de Sérigny, editor of the ultra-colonialist *Echo d'Alger*, had become the ideological guide of most of the European civilians in Algiers and of a substantial part of the Army leadership. It is not surprising to find him now a leading member of the Committee of Public Safety at Algiers—that Algerian "government" which has been trying, so successfully up to now, to dictate its will to Paris. Nor is it surprising to find M. Jacques Soustelle entering this "government" after escaping from Paris, where the Pflimlin Government had increased his "bodyguard" to eight men "to protect him against Algerian terrorists."

Bourgès-Maunoury's Government was overthrown last winter for having produced a plan of reforms in Algeria which M. de Sérigny and his friends had found too generous; four months later, the Gaillard Government was overthrown (even though it had "covered" the Sakiet raid of February 8) for having recommended the acceptance of the very mild Murphy-Beeley recommendations on Tunisia. After that, there was a month's interregnum marked by a storm of the most violent anti-American propaganda in the greater part of the French press. When finally the Catholic Deputy, M. Pierre Pflimlin, was about to form the next Government, and had let it be known that he favored an Algerian settlement (possibly in cooperation with Tunisia and Morocco), Algiers was not going to take any more chances. A few hours before the investiture of M.

General De Gaulle

Pflimlin, there were riots there which led to the proclamation of the rival Algiers regime under the incongruously Robespierresque title of "Committee of Public Safety."

AND SO, on May 13, we saw the beginning of the final act of the long-drawn-out Franco-Algerian tragedy. It is now said that if Pflimlin had been energetic on May 13 or 14, if he had ordered the court-martial of the instigators of the Algiers *coup*, all might yet have been saved. But it is, in fact, hard to see how "republican law" could, by that time, have been enforced on the insurgents. So Pflimlin felt he had no choice but to condone the insurrection, and to build up the fiction that General Salan, the Commander-in-Chief in Algeria, was the lawful representative of the Paris Government there. But meantime General Salan had started making speeches which invariably ended with the cry, *"Vive de Gaulle!"* There was complete confusion. What did de Gaulle have to do with it? Was de Gaulle in any way responsible for the Algiers insurrection against the legal Government of France? Were not the Algerian thugs using him in order to make their putsch look *respectable* in the eyes of millions of Frenchmen in metropolitan France? Were not the generals, too, for the time being, working hand-in-hand with the thugs to get de Gaulle into power?

General Massu, head of the paratroops and No. 1 thug, whose men were responsible for the now-famous tortures and for having terrorized the Moslem population of Algiers city into complete submission (though not elsewhere in Algeria), now staged the farce of a "miraculous" Franco-Moslem "reconciliation," with a few thousands of terrorized Moslems and a few thousands of other, older and "wishful-thinking" Moslems being induced to take part in crying *"Vive de Gaulle!"* and even *"Algérie Française!"* High-falutin' promises of "integration" and complete equality were made to them by all the crustiest of old colonialists, with Massu, Soustelle and de Sérigny at their head. This nonsense was played up with the greatest seriousness in the whole colonialist right-wing press in France. It was part of the operation which was calculated to show that a de Gaulle regime alone could win over the Moslems!

AND THEN, ON MAY 15, came de Gaulle's first laconic communiqué, which was to precipitate events at breakneck speed. In this communiqué, he did not disavow the Algiers putsch, and made it plain that he was willing to place himself at the service of France and the Republic. Four days later came his press conference, at which he made it clear that he wanted the Socialists to help him into office by "legal" means. Again he did not disavow the Algiers putsch, saying disdainfully: "Why should I, if the Government of the Republic isn't doing it?" He hit the nail on the head. The Pflimlin Government was helpless—completely and utterly helpless both *vis-à-vis* the Algiers Public Safety Committee and *vis-à-vis* the Army leaders. Only he, de Gaulle, would have enough authority to make Algiers and the Army—and the Army was the main thing—obey.

The Pflimlin Government was in a state of complete bewilderment. Jules Moch, the Minister of the Interior, was not absolutely sure of the police; Pierre de Chévigné, the Minister of Defense, was not at all sure

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of the Army. Rumors were started of Massu's paratroops landing in Paris and setting up a ruthless military dictatorship. They did not land in Paris; but on May 24, 250 paratroops stationed in Corsica organized an Algiers-inspired putsch there; just as at Algiers, so now at Ajaccio, the Government gave orders to its forces not to resist. A Public Safety Committee, on Algiers lines, was set up in Corsica. The only cheering thing was that, as distinct from Algiers, the population of Corsica showed very little enthusiasm for its new "rulers."

But now the fat was in the fire. It was the Whitsuntide weekend: 800,000 Parisians had gone out of town; others were crowding the Bois de Boulogne and the Bois de Vincennes; all still looked peaceful and idyllic. But the Pflimlin Government had now got into a real panic. A censorship was imposed on the press—no mention was permitted of any other "public safety" committees that bunches of local Fascists were trying to set up (though without much success) in various places in the south of France. On Monday, May 26, the Assembly met to raise the parliamentary immunity of M. Arrighi, the Deputy who had played a leading role in the Ajaccio *coup*. When Pflimlin was asked why a similar measure wasn't being taken against Soustelle and other members of Parliament now in Algiers, he feebly said once again that "Algiers was different."

AND now started the more or less secret negotiations with de Gaulle—the only man who "could now prevent civil war." Lacoste wrote to him, begging him to disavow the Corsica putsch; so did Mollet, the Socialist leader in the Pflimlin Government. As a result of Mollet's letter, a secret meeting was arranged between Pflimlin and de Gaulle. The Socialists, holding the balance in the National Assembly, were at first furious with Mollet and passed by an overwhelming majority a vote against having anything to do with de Gaulle. Mollet was not discouraged; he had made up his mind that de Gaulle alone could now "keep Algiers in order." President Coty and ex-President Auriol were now feverishly working for de Gaulle behind the scenes. The Communists started a violent anti-Fascist campaign. On Wednesday, May 28, there was a vast "Defense of the Republic" demonstration in the East End of Paris, called by the Socialists and other democratic organizations; uninvited, the Communists joined in. Some 300,000 people marched through the streets of Paris carrying banners saying *"Vive la République"* and *"NON à de Gaulle."* In a sense, it was a tame, half-hearted affair, lacking the fervor and enthusiasm of the old Popular Front rallies of 1935 and 1936. It could scarcely be anything else; everybody knew that while the demonstration was being held (with several Socialist Deputies, and also anti-de Gaulle left-of-center men like Mitterrand and Mendès-France, taking part) Mollet, the Socialist leader, was negotiating with de Gaulle. And there is no doubt that at the back of very many people's minds there was the inescapable feeling of "better de Gaulle than Massu." No doubt, the people around de Gaulle were suspect, terribly suspect. Even the Catholic paper *La Croix*, while polite to de Gaulle, thought it a nauseating sight: the great man standing in a pool of filth, the filth of all the right-wing Deputies and Fascists, their pockets bulging with money received from Big Business in both France and Algeria.

Though not very wholehearted, the vast left-wing demonstration was not unimportant, all the same. De Gaulle was impressed by it; it demonstrated that there was a vast part of the population which was attached to the Republic—not necessarily to the Republic of Gaillard and Pflimlin, but to the Republic in the abstract, as it were.

WHAT IF A Popular Front were to develop, after all? Wednesday's demonstration was a relatively small affair, but it might prove the beginning of something important. President Coty got seriously alarmed; and he threatened to resign if de Gaulle were not made head of the government. There was actually no immediate "danger" of a Popular Front; but it was now possible that the Socialist resistance to de Gaulle might grow stronger. Already men like Tanguy-Prigent of the Socialist Party were saying that, despite doctrinal differences, there were moments when the Socialist and Communist rank-and-file were bound to get closer together.

The French intellectuals were divided. François Mauriac said he would "take a chance" with de Gaulle; the *Monde*, in a terribly gloomy article, said de Gaulle was a "lesser evil." Bourdet wrote in *France-Observateur*: "No, Never!" and argued that, since de Gaulle and Algiers were bluffing France, France should "counter-bluff" them. Let the paratroops descend on Paris. So what? They couldn't kill everybody, and the resistance of the people would show that Algiers could not dictate its will to France, which was still profoundly democratic.

BUT IT was no good. On Sunday, June 1, de Gaulle was invested by the National Assembly—but only by 329 votes to 224. In the last week, the opposition to de Gaulle had not lessened; it had grown, despite the fact that most people knew at heart that de Gaulle was inevitable—and the "lesser evil." The General had given many assurances to Mollet (now known as "France's Ramsay MacDonald"): the trade unions (and even the Communist Party) would not be dissolved; democratic freedoms would be respected, and so on, and so on. But, as everybody knows, the big, crucial question for the immediate future is not civil liberties, or the freedom of the press, or trade-union freedom. Question Number One is: Will de Gaulle make Algiers obey? Or will he become the prisoner of the Fascists in Algiers and in France? The profound reason why de Gaulle was approved by a reluctant Parliament was the idea that he, and he alone, could make the Army and Algiers obey or, failing that, *separate* the Army from "Algiers"—i.e., from the colonialist gang, the Sérignys and the Soustelles.

De Gaulle, whatever else he believes in, believes in the authority of the central Government in Paris. Just as in 1944-45 he ordered the dissolution of the countless Liberation

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Committees that had been set up by the men of the *Résistance*, and which showed dangerously autonomist and regionalist tendencies, so (if he is consistent) he must eventually dissolve the Public Safety Committee in Algiers and elsewhere.

Will Soustelle oppose de Gaulle? The real clash between the two men is the clash of two different Big Business groups: Soustelle is the man of the all-out colonialists with a large Fascist network in France; de Gaulle is backed by that part of Big Business which wants the war in Algeria liquidated and wants to concentrate the big economic developments not in Algeria, but in France. And, to them, the Algerian war is a hindrance.

In short, everything, everything depends on whether de Gaulle has the authority to control the Army and to detach it from the Algerian colonialists. Once we have an answer to this, we can then worry about whether de Gaulle is really a Fascist.

2. Paris: the Unreal Week . . *by Elliott Stein*

Paris, May 28.

THROUGHOUT the "crisis" the city has been like a large surrealist canvas, filled with quiet flocks of people playing cards. During the rush on the stores last week, when housewives seized most of the sardine cans, sugar and oil in sight, there was also a stampede on parlor games, presumably to be enjoyed during the long evenings when it might be forbidden to go out, evenings illuminated by the tons of candles which were snapped up too. And in the long rows of Black Marias and riot cars all over town, hundreds of the waiting police sit and pass the spring afternoons, chatting softly, rifle and machine gun at their sides, playing cards, playing cards.

The spring "season" is at its height—the few months before the August holiday exodus when a good many of the year's more interesting concerts, exhibitions and special dramatic performances are crowded together. A self-improving tourist with too busy a schedule to read the papers, and who assumed that the 20,000 police and 15,000 steel-helmeted security guards were on hand to insure the safety of a visiting monarch, could go from gallery to theatre, hardly suspecting that anything was up. Only in the cinemas, where newsreels offer food for thought and scuffle, has attendance dropped sharply. Two days after the Algiers *coup*, a special newsreel flashed on the screen of a Champs-Elysées theatre. There was an icy silence, the audience sat as if petrified—then enthusiastic applause broke out for General Massu's unpleasant face. A friend of mine who booed narrowly escaped assault. In a working-class neighborhood cinema, the same newsreel evoked the same icy silence, and a mere few grunts of disapproval for the same unpleasant face.

Monday, May 19—the date of de Gaulle's now-famous press conference—stands out for me as the most unreal of recent spectral days. I walked across town at dawn to take my place in line at the *Opéra*, where seats were going on sale that morning for the Bolshoi Ballet's June performance. Most of those on line ahead of me had been there since before midnight the previous evening; in the crowd of English tourists, native balletomanes and the gnarled little *concierges* with camp chairs who had come to stock up on tickets for future black-market sales, there was a good deal of bitter reminiscence. Four years ago to the month, during the period of the Indo-Chinese war, many of them had stood on line all night at the *Opéra* for tickets to the Bolshoi, but with the fall of Dien Bien Phu, right-wing threats to riot during performances intimidated the government into canceling them and sending Ulanova and company back to Moscow. Would something like that happen again? Hadn't Lacoste just accused the government of perpetrating a "diplomatic Dien Bien Phu"?

About 6:30 A.M., a portable set picked up the French radio's day-starter, the *Marseillaise*, which blared across the Place de l'Opéra. A *flic* obliged the radio's owner to tone the music down. An English boy held a copy of the May 17 London *Daily Mirror*. Under an enormous headline, "FLIGHT FROM PARIS—Refugee Rush Begins As Civil War Fear Grows," the front-page story by the *Mirror's* Paris correspondent, Peter Stephens, spoke of thousands of civilians leaving in terror, of rolled-up mattresses on the roofs of endless streams of fleeing cars. Several old ladies in the queue had a good laugh when the article was translated for them—the journalist had obviously just seen a few families leaving for a weekend in the country, they said. (The piece's outrageous misrepresentation and hysteria-mongering were not very funny though. The *Mirror* later followed with a *mea culpa* and Stephens was ousted from the Anglo-American Paris Press Association.)

GROGGY, BUT ARMED with my Bolshoi seats, I sat out the early part of the afternoon in the sunlight at a café on the Boulevard St. Germain, waiting for news of the press conference, which might, I assumed, exert an influence on whether or not seats would have to be refunded. It was a beautiful day; the cafés were packed. The presence of a thousand paddywagons didn't dampen spirits excessively—one was getting used to them. Police helicopters buzzed overhead. The Prefect himself was said to be droning around in the little Cub plane which swooped low over the boulevard. No great massing of mobs was to be seen from above or below, but the aerial spying went on through the day, and by evening the planes had become nerve-wracking. Toward three o'clock, while Minister of the Interior Moch himself direct-

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ed the policing of the Palais d'Orsay and Malraux, Mauriac, Graham Greene and 800 newsmen were herded in to meet the General, the subway closed down. The C.G.T. (the Confédération Générale du Travail—the large, mostly Communist trade-union) had given strike orders to coincide with de Gaulle's speech so as to "break the Fascist plot." (And also to test how well the working class might be expected to follow its subsequent orders.) Ominously enough, station *République* was the first to shut its iron gates. Half of the city's buses stopped and did not start again until nine that evening; a few suburban trains were halted, and work ceased in some factories. Since the Metro strike was total, thousands found themselves on the street in neighborhoods they had had no intention of visiting. For an hour or so, groups of people stood in the sunlight near the cafés, waiting for news from the Palais D'Orsay. The news was late in coming. The tense calm was like that in a science-fiction movie when the berserk planet or the giant mantis is due, but not yet visible, and crowds stand aimlessly on the sidewalks—or even more like the early René Clair film, *Paris Qui Dort*, in which the French capital is paralyzed into stop motion by a crazy ray in the middle of an ordinary afternoon.

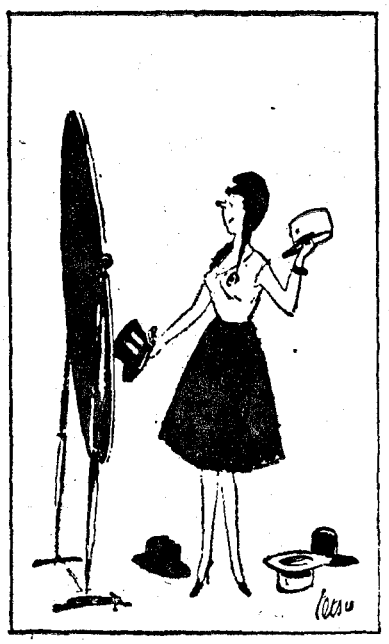
LATER, WHEN the pretentious and irritating words had been made public, when a nation which had for the most part been doing no shouting whatsoever was informed that "No one shouts '*Vive de Gaulle*' who is not on the side of the nation"—there was more silence, more standing around. There were no public demonstrations as it slowly sank in that de Gaulle had not only given his implicit support to Massu and the rebellious *colons*, but had asked to be accepted as supreme ruler merely on the basis of his past service, and in return offered no hint of what his own program was to be. It was evident (to quote Mendès-France's blunt summation), that "the General has aggravated the situation and backed up the behavior of the seditious factions."

To round out that Dali-esque, Dantesque day, in the evening I attended a performance of the Paul Dessau opera, *The Condemnation of Lucullus*, based on a Brecht text, and presented by the Leipzig opera as part of the *Théâtre des Nations'* series at the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre. The libretto concerns the judging of a general by his past deeds. The Roman commander-in-chief, Lucullus, carried to his tomb with great pomp at curtain rise, faces the Tribunal of the Dead, which has been invoked to decide his qualifications for the Elysian Fields. He had brought Rome great military honors, conquered the Orient and introduced the cherry tree to Italy—but the figures from his triumphal arch descend and do not have much to say on the general's behalf. The court, composed of a fishwife who had lost her son in battle, a peasant and a courtesan, decide to refuse him access to the Champs Elysées, and the Big Man is sent to Nothingness where he is to join his hero, Alexander the Great.

Dessau was on hand for the Paris performances. He was roundly acclaimed, but I felt impelled to rush out after the first curtain call, surrounded as I was by delightedly *épaté* bourgeois who had chattered through the music all evening long and were now wildly shouting, "This is the opera of the future—the opera of the future!—more significant than *Pelléas*!" I liked Dessau's music, but I had had enough of generals for one day, and walked home along the well-policed quays of the Seine, hoping to get on the BBC some uncensored news of just what had been going on in France that day.

THE REST of the week brought all kinds of rumors and more inert waiting around. One discovered that Mauriac had rallied to de Gaulle and that Sartre was rampaging against him. There were rumors that the embassy was planning the evacuation of both military and civilian Americans, that Toulouse and Bordeaux had been taken over by Committees of Public Safety. The arrival from Germany of several Globemasters was not reassuring, but the evacuation stories were squelched, although service men in Europe were told to keep away from France. The papers reported a new ruling requiring anyone except tourists leaving the country to procure an exit visa—it turned out to be necessary only for French nationals—and then after four days, during which squawking lines of would-be French vacationers, train tickets to Brussels or Venice in their pockets, raged outside government offices that were closed for lunch, the visa system was dropped as suddenly as it had been instituted.

AFTER the Corsican *coup*, the government implanted absolute censorial control on all sources of information. This has replaced the previous seizure system by which newspapers or magazines could be confiscated after publication. Censors, taking orders from the Ministry of the Interior, are installed around-the-clock in newspaper offices, and even page make-up is censorable. Articles or photographs taken out are theoretically to be replaced by items that have passed censor, so that the blanks resulting from the suppression will not show. In a front page editorial, the day this went into effect, *Paris-Presse* explained the policy, down to the necessity for covering blanks, and excused itself to its readers for henceforth being unable to control the exactitude of what it would print. The editorial



Aux Ecoutes (Paris)

"Which looks best?"

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appeared next to a lead story on the Algerian war in which a large white hole was filled with the word *CENSURE!*

The other papers are full of blanks too. And even deputies' speeches may be withheld from the public, so that it is impossible to be sure that one is getting a complete report of what is going on in the Assembly—while what may be the last parliamentary debates of this Republic take place!

Beuve-Méry, the *Monde's* courageous editor, stated that with a muzzled press dangerous rumors will merely be accepted with more complete gullibility. He even suggested that the *Monde* might cease publication if the restrictions became unbearable. One can hardly imagine life here without the *Monde*, but in Paris the unimaginable is daily making inroads.

A joke, if it can be called one, is that the morning Gaullist daily, *Le Parisien Libéré,* has been blessed with a censor named Boisseau (which literally means "chimney flue-tile" and "throttle-chamber"), the *Figaro's* censor is a M. Coche ("the score on a tally stick"), and *Paris-Journal's* man is M. Blanc ("blank space"). *Paris-Presse* has been stuck with M. Bayars, which only means Mr. Bayars. This Monday, all copies of the *Daily Mail*, and of the European edition of the New York *Herald Tribune* were confiscated by the police (Joseph Alsop is in town and has noticed that things are not going well), even though that issue of the *Tribune* had previously passed the censor! Many other Swiss, English and American papers have been stopped at the frontiers; reproductions of foreign political cartoons have practically disappeared from the French press. Since sea, air and telephone contact has been cut between France and Corsica, the scarce news to be had of the island comes from American journalists or returning British vacationers. The government admits it is jamming the rantings of Radio Algiers, and one feels almost like a conspirator in a spy film in turning on the BBC, the Belgian news broadcast, or the bland, reassuring voices of the American Forces Network, which comes in late at night from Germany. News from the outside world!—the muzzling increases the weird, uncomfortable *occupied* feeling that is in the air. The censorship increases the silence and inertia which have so marked recent days. Those still at the helm of the Republic seem to be doing no service to its defense and plunging people who would defend it and their liberties into further darkness and confusion.

And — wonder of wonders! — Kerensky has suddenly almost become a household word. Radio Algiers warned last week: "Attention M. Pflimlin-Kerensky, you will not be the Joan of Arc of the Republic, you must choose between Moscow and the Cross of Lorraine. Have a good weekend, M. Pflimlin." And in the Assembly, Pflimlin was accused of Kerenskyism by Mendès-France. "Who is Kerensky?" someone at the *Deux Magots* wanted to know. A bright young woman came up with the answer, even before the waiter could be sent out for a *Petite Larousse*—"He was an old Polish politician who wrote good music, but sold out to the Americans."

LAST night I passed by the medical school on the Rue des Saints Pères. At the corner, the wall is covered with posters and chalk marks—a Communist poster urging that everyone rally around the menaced Republic, scrawled over in chalk with *Juif Go Home*, next to a poster reading *SOS De Gaulle*. Above is a travel ad, advising "Go to Corsica's Beaches for Sunny Days." Underneath, someone has printed in English: "Where are your poets?"

In a few hours, today, May 28, at five o'clock, the Committee of Action for the Defense of the Republic, which includes the Socialist, RDA (Democratic African) and MRP (Catholic) parties, and the non-Communist trade-unions, is organizing a mass demonstration at the Place de la République. I shall take the Metro—if it's running—get off at Republic Station—if it has not been shut — and keep my fingers crossed. I'm sure at least a few poets will be there.

3. New Frontiers of Tension . . *by Geoffrey Barraclough*

London

THE STARTLING events of the past month have shown up in the clearest light the difference between the illusions and the realities of policy. While America and Russia, shut away in the rarified atmosphere of a vacuum of their own making, have been conducting their sterile debates about the H-bomb, intercontinental missiles and disarmament in general, a decisive change has taken place in international affairs. The United States, it is now clear, has been bracing itself to fight and lose the wrong battle. Like a superannuated general, Mr. Dulles has moved his forces into line for a neat campaign according to the rules of the last war—that is to say, of the cold war—only to find that a new era has opened, demanding a new strategy. Much the same, we may guess, has happened to the men in the Kremlin. It seems probable that recent events have taken the USSR by surprise every bit as much as the United States. The two great super-powers, so cocksure of themselves, and so convinced that they alone can decide the destinies of mankind, begin to look like punch-dazed boxers, swinging and pawing wildly, landing heavy body-blows on non-existent adversaries.

Consider, briefly, the facts of the modern world as they face us in France, North Africa, the Lebanon, Indonesia, Latin America, Greece, Indo-China, Cyprus, Aden. These, indisputably, are today's hot-points, the centers of discussion and unrest

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on which, if policy were sane and rational, the preoccupations of statesmen would be concentrated. No one in his senses can fail to see that the things which still obsess our politicians—the Summit Conference, disarmament, the German question — are no longer actual and urgent. That does not mean, of course, that disarmament and summit talks are ultimately unimportant. But to suppose that solutions on this level can act in some sort of way as a panacea, or that they touch more than the fringe of the problems of the modern world, is a blinding misjudgment. Nothing on the whole is less likely today or tomorrow (or, in my opinion, at any other foreseeable time) than a nuclear conflict between Russia and the United States; yet it is on this remote possibility that American policies continue to be predicated. What they should be predicated upon, on the other hand, is the breakdown of NATO, the growth of neutralism, the economic and concomitant political problems of the under-developed areas, and the rapid activation of Arab nationalism. Similar problems, no doubt, face the Soviet Union within its sphere of interests, though they are more difficult to assess because they are largely under the surface. And yet the positions of the United States and the USSR are not quite on a par. It is a curious feature of the present situation that the Soviet Union can afford to sit back and do nothing, allowing developments in Africa and elsewhere to mature on their own, whereas the United States, because it is involved at every point, is compelled to adjust its policy to events, or risk a shattering failure. The real question at the present is how soon it will be before Washington brings its strategy into line with the facts.

IT IS NECESSARY, in the first place, to consider the international implications of the revolutionary crisis in France. It is now clear that, whatever saving formula may be found, the Fourth Republic is being effectively superseded by a right-wing authoritarian government. But even before this outcome was certain, it was evident that, whichever grouping succeeded, the result was bound to be a total change in France's international position and inescapable repercussions on American policy. The revolution in France has knocked the bottom out of NATO. But France is not the only country which has administered a nasty shock to American official thinking in the last few weeks. There is Greece, where the Communist vote has risen sharply, giving E.D.A. no less than 78 seats in the new Parliament, compared with exactly none in 1952. Then there is Laos, where the Communist Party of Prince Souphanouvong has captured all twelve seats in the recent elections.

These remarkable Communist victories should not be interpreted as an extension of Moscow's net, or a widening of the so-called Communist world conspiracy. Rather they are victories for neutralism, representing not a positive option for Russia, but a reaction against the mistakes and inconsistencies of American policy. The same is true of the crisis in the Lebanon. Here, all commentators agree, the underlying motive behind the outbreak was opposition to President Chamoun's dependence on the United States, a source of resentment smoldering ever since Lebanon subscribed to the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957. But the Lebanese revolt was significant also as showing up another basic American miscalculation. Obsessed by fear of Russia's gaining a foothold in the Middle East, the State Department made the mistake of directing its heavy artillery against communism, failing in consequence to see how quickly in the last twelve months the forces at play have shifted. When trouble finally broke out in the Lebanon, it was not Russia that intervened, but Syria and Egypt—the United Arab Republic. The dominant factor in the Middle East, in other words, is no longer the cold war, but Arab nationalism. But the State Department, because its outlook is still fixed in cold-war grooves, has failed so far to measure up to the new realities.

Doyle: Daily News (Phila.)
Crack in the Cornerstone

THE dilemma posed for American policy by the revolutionary crisis in France is as obvious as it is insoluble. The generals, if they have their way —and the indications are that they will impose their will on de Gaulle — are not going to be diverted from Algeria by any considerations of European solidarity, still less by regard for the American policy of keeping in, by one devious means or another, both with the European powers and with the rising nationalisms of Africa and the Middle East. Already it is being freely predicted that the victorious de Gaulle, whose critical attitude to NATO is well known, will have no hesitation about a deal with Russia, if in this way France can secure a free hand in Africa. On the other hand, the only force capable of saving the Republic was the workers, just as it was the German workers who saved the Weimar Republic in 1923 at the time of the Kapp putsch. But this would have meant cooperation with M. Delbos, the Communists and the C.G.T., the only people who can get the bulk of the workers out on to the streets; and, for this reason, Pflimlin refused it. Yet either way, the result was bound to be incompatible with American policy as now conceived. For what were the practical alternatives? Either it meant—what has, in fact, happened — the advent of a right-wing regime caring nothing for the State Department's aims in Europe and positively rejecting its policy in Africa; or it meant a left-wing regime which had no use for NATO and the cold-war mentality, and was actively neutralist in its attitudes.

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Lord Hailsham has described the events of the last two or three weeks as a wave of anarchy sweeping over and threatening the West. We might better call it a wave of common sense, a sudden revolt against illusions and a spontaneous adjustment to present realities. But more important is the challenge to politicians and to the public to think again. Most of the things that have engrossed public attention in the past months, ever since the Russians launched their first sputnik, are hypothetical possibilities more in line with H. G. Wells's early fantasies and science fiction than with the facts of things as they are. It is time we came back to earth.

IN THE first place, it is now clear that NATO is a source of weakness rather than strength. With France for all practical purposes out, it cannot work, even if it continues to exist in name. The people of Europe have no use for it; its weakness is too apparent. Even in Western Germany, they are in full revolt against all the conceptions for which it stands. Why does the United States cling to it so eagerly? If it believes it requires European bases, a straight alliance with Franco Spain or Adenauer Germany, or with both, would have more to offer. If it does not, it is high time the Radford Plan for "Fortress America" were taken out of cold storage.

The NATO alliance only makes sense if a Russian onslaught on Europe is thought to be imminent. In reality there is no evidence whatever that Russia has the remotest intention of attacking Europe. On the other hand, the disadvantages of the alliance from the American point of view are obvious. In the first place, Washington's hands are tied by allies who can exercise a veto over all constructive moves. In this way, for example, Britain and France are doing all they can to prevent the suspension of nuclear tests, in flat contradiction to the policy of President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles. In the second place, the alliance with England, France, Holland and Belgium has compromised the United States in the eyes of Arabs, Cypriots, Bantus and all other colonial and ex-colonial peoples, and is the greatest obstacle to an evolution of American policy in the direction of cooperation with Afro-Asians. No one doubts the State Department's awareness of the present importance of the uncommitted world of Asia and Africa. It has behaved with moderation in the Indonesian crisis, when it might all too easily have intervened as clumsily as it did in the Jordan crisis last year. The real criticism is that its good intentions are hamstrung by its own policies, by its muddled desire both to have its cake and eat it, and by its hopeless endeavors to keep one foot in each of as many incompatible and irreconcilable camps as possible. Hence the hurt resentment when the peoples of Europe and Asia and Africa turn against the hand that fed them. Were recent events in Greece and Laos and the Lebanon a fair recompense, Americans have every right to ask, for all the billions of dollars so lavishly poured in? The answer, without doubt, is that there is something wrong with a policy which products such results.

THE FIRST and overriding need is to adjust policy to present realities; to adjust it, in other words, to a world in which the cold war and the Soviet-American conflict are no longer the central themes. That means, above all else, a closer concentration on Amercia's own immediate affairs, a re-examination of the strange thesis that America's frontiers run along the Elbe and the Euphrates. Isolationism is today a word with ugly connotations; but as a reaction against incessant meddling and a determination to cut down irrelevant commitments, it makes good sense. The misadventures of Mr. Nixon in Latin America are a timely warning that the United States has enough on its own doorstep, without looking further afield. It is time, then, for an American reassessment of the advantages and disadvantages of NATO, not necessarily in the sense that it should be dismantled, but rather with a view to establishing what priority it should have compared with other objectives of American policy. For it seems clear that Europe at the present time is the least threatened and the least eruptive region of the world, and that no more than a distant watching-brief is required. As a corollary, it is time for the United States to place greater reliance, particularly in its relations with Russia, on its own immense resources, and less on creaking alliances with reluctant, self-interested and half-hearted partners. Direct Soviet-American negotiations, unimpeded by British or German pressures, could clear away without any sacrifice of American security many of the obstacles which are today preventing the United States from concentrating on the really lively issues. But here again reassessment is overdue. If the cold war is no longer the central theme—and no one reviewing the facts of the present world situation dispassionately can suppose that it is—the whole American attempt to develop such areas as the Middle East as bastions against communism is misconceived. To cajole or drive countries such as Syria or Jordan into the Western camp may have seemed common sense even twelve months ago. Today we only need to look at happenings in the Lebanon to see the results. And the same applies in other parts of the world. Left to themselves, the Indonesians will probably succeed in evolving a way of life of their own, which may not be democratic as understood in the United States, but which will certainly not be communism, and still less Russian communism. But the essential condition is for the Western powers, and the United States in particular, to make themselves as inconspicuous as possible. Here again, in short, less intervention and less involvement are the requirements.

WE HAVE passed through a period when it was the ruling doctrine, genuinely welcomed in Europe and elsewhere, that America must be ready to step in everywhere to defend the free world from the Communist threat. It was the heart and core of this doctrine that intervention was not simply altruistic, but that it was essential to America's own interests. There was a time, ten or perhaps even five years ago, when this theory was, all in all, correct. Today the disorders of the war and

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of the aftermath of war, which crippled the West and necessitated American help, have been put right, so far as they ever can be put right. None of the Western countries any longer regards the Communist threat as something to which all else must be subordinated. They have objectives of their own—France in Africa, for example, England in Aden and Cyprus — which the United States does not share. Elsewhere, in Asia and Africa, new nations are arising which also demand the right to shape their own destinies, and resent American interference and direction. The period which is beginning is far more complex than the postwar years. The threads of policy have multiplied, the issues cross and tangle. To build a common front against communism is no longer practical politics; to intervene in all the complicated issues springing up all over the globe is asking for trouble.

These are the lessons of the present situation for United States' policymakers. To suppose, as is often asserted, that a more limited policy would leave the United States exposed and isolated in a hostile world, is nonsense. On the contrary, it is American interference which everywhere is provoking hostility. We may not much like the pattern of the postwar world, which has emerged after a dozen angry years: its virulent nationalism, its reviving worship of the "strong man"—be it Nasser or de Gaulle—and its tendency to forget common purposes and to fall apart into contending groupings, are the negation of most people's hopes and expectations. Looking back, we can see that this shift of forces is a result of the nuclear stalemate which, holding both Russia and America in thrall, has produced a new world situation faster than most of us thought possible. But the new situation, so different from that of even five years ago, now exists and it is with this situation that American policy must now come to terms. The time for illusions is past; the time to get to grips with realities has arrived.

FACT and FABLE of FALLOUT . . *by Linus Pauling*

THE CONTROVERSY about the suspension of nuclear tests has been made to turn on a sharp difference of opinion among scientists as to the biological effects of the tests. But the differences are not nearly so great as they have been made to appear. It is not so much a question of sharp, fundamental differences as it is of inferences which have been drawn from various statements, of which some are misleading.

When he testified before the Special Congressional Subcommittee on Radiation, Dr. J. Laurence Kulp, an authority on strontium-90, said:

> Finally, Mr. Chairman, if I might add one or two words as a citizen, rather than a scientist, for the record I would like to note three things: First, that I do not think the differences in the opinions of scientists, such as Dr. Libby [Dr. Willard F. Libby, AEC commissioner] and Dr. Pauling, are anywhere near as great as some of the newspaper accounts would lead us to believe. I believe that as far as scientific data are concerned, they are probably in rather close agreement. Dr. Libby has carefully said, or has pointed out that he is not saying that there is no risk, and Dr. Pauling has admitted that the radiation from strontium-90 is a very small fraction of the natural background. On these basic facts, all are agreed.

Yet the public has been given the impression that there is a great disagreement among scientists about the facts. I think that the explanation of this situation is that the spokesmen for the Atomic Energy Commission have often made statements that seem to be misleading, even though true. Sometimes the statements proved to be wrong. Examples of the latter were discussed by Dr. Ralph E. Lapp in his testimony before the Special Congressional Subcommittee on Radiation. Dr. Lapp said that "Scientists, technicians and officials of the AEC must present only reasoned and careful estimates of the hazards based upon factual knowledge. . . ." He then mentioned that Merril Eisenbud, manager of the New York Operations Office of the AEC, had been quoted in the New York *Sunday News* of March 20, 1955, as follows:

> The total fallout to date from all tests would have to be multiplied by a million to produce visible, deleterious effects except in areas close to the explosion itself.

Mr. Eisenbud, who had said that he was talking about the immediate gamma radiation from the fallout which occurs in the Eastern United States within a matter of a day or so after a detonation in Nevada, was asked by Dr. Lapp and by the chairman of the subcommittee if he remembered how much radioactivity had fallen on the city of Troy, New York. He answered that something under 0.10 roentgen, which he estimated as only 0.01 roentgen, had fallen after a test held in Nevada in the spring of 1953. He said that there was a rain over the Troy-Albany area which coincided with a passage of a cloud from Nevada, so that a large percentage of this cloud was washed down. Dr. Lapp, referring to the *News* article, pointed out that a million times 0.01 roentgen would be 10,000 roentgens, and one of the Senators said 10,000 roentgens would kill everybody in the region.

We see that the statement made to the *News* by Mr. Eisenbud, a representative of the AEC, was not correct.

LINUS PAULING, distinguished scientist and Nobel Prize-winner in chemistry (1954), is professor of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology. This article is adapted from a chapter in Dr. Pauling's forthcoming book, No More War!, *to be published soon by Dodd, Mead.*

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Dr. Libby is a distinguished physical chemist who, after serving as professor in the Institute of Nuclear Studies in the University of Chicago, has been a member of the AEC since 1954. For much of this time he has been the only scientist member. It is likely that a large part of the extensive scientific information that has been gathered by the commission about fallout and its biological effects has resulted from his activities. I feel that he deserves great credit for these activities, and that he has to be described as a thoughtful and careful scientist. Nevertheless, he has made many public statements that I consider to be misleading.

In his speech of June 3, 1955, he said:

> However, as far as immediate or somatic damage to the health is concerned, the fallout dosage rate as of January 1 of this year in the United States could be increased 15,000 times without hazard.

This statement can hardly be described as correct. Ten hours after the detonation of a small fission bomb at the Nevada Test Site on March 1, 1955, the level of gamma radiation at St. George, Utah, was 0.004 roentgen per hour. Similar radiation levels have been reported for other cities in Utah and Nevada, and also in the Troy-Albany region of New York. They correspond to about 0.1 roentgen of fallout exposure within a period of one day. Had the inhabitants of these regions received a fallout dosage 15,000 times greater, amounting to 1,500 roentgens, they would have died within a few days of acute radiation sickness. Consequently the 15,000 increase cannot be said to be without hazard.

Another statement by Dr. Libby was reported in the New York *Herald Tribune* of June 9, 1957: "There is no single provable case of any person being injured or seriously affected by any of the slightly extra radiation created in the United States by the tests." He did not amplify this statement, which I believe, in a sense, to be accurate.

When a man dies from leukemia or bone cancer, there is no way of telling whether his disease was caused by fallout radiation or by cosmic rays or heredity or by some other natural cause; and when a defective child is born, there is no way of proving that his genetic defect is to be attributed to fallout radiation rather than to some other cause. Hence no one person can be pointed out as having died from leukemia or bone cancer caused by fallout, no one child can be pointed out as being seriously defective because of fallout—there is no provable case, as Dr. Libby says.

And yet, Dr. Libby's statement misleads because it suggests to most readers that the fallout radiation **does no harm.**

ONE ARGUMENT that has been used by spokesmen for the AEC to "allay the fears of the people" about the effects of fallout is based on a comparison of the incidence of leukemia and bone cancer in Denver with that in San Francisco and New Orleans.

The intensity of cosmic radiation in Denver, at an altitude of 5,000 feet, is about 0.023 roentgen per year greater than at sea level, according to Dr. Libby. Dr. Libby gives the natural background radiation at sea level as 0.110 roentgen per year. Accordingly, if the natural radioactivity were the same in Denver as in San Francisco and New Orleans, the average exposure of people to radiation from all natural sources would be 21 per cent greater in Denver than in the other two cities.

It has been estimated by Dr. E. B. Lewis of the California Institute of Technology, in his careful study of radiation in relation to leukemia, that about 10 to 20 per cent of the cases of leukemia may be attributed to cosmic rays or natural radioactivity. Accordingly it might be expected that, if other factors were the same, the incidence of leukemia in Denver would be between 2 and 4 per cent greater than that in San Francisco and New Orleans.

Dr. Libby has pointed out that there is no evidence that this increase in the incidence of leukemia, or a similar increase in the incidence of bone cancer, actually occurs. He presented his argument in an address given at the University of New Hampshire on April 11, 1957, and in an address delivered before the American Physical Society in Washington, D. C., on April 26, 1957.

But the argument is misleading. It has no significance relative to the question of whether or not fallout radiation causes leukemia and bone cancer, because medical statistics at the present time are not good enough to detect the predicted difference, and because other factors may hide this effect.

Let us quote from Dr. Libby's address of April 26, 1957:

> Therefore, we must examine whether anything in our experience indicates that these differences [in cosmic-ray intensity] are significant in terms of the occurrence of the principal effects expected of radiostrontium, namely leukemia and bone cancer. Now of course when one looks for such vital statistics, one finds that they are very hard to acquire. However, the National Institutes of Health and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have given us statistics for the occurrence of leukemia and bone cancer for the year 1947 for the three cities, New Orleans, San Francisco and Denver.

OCCURRENCE OF BONE CANCER AND LEUKEMIA

(New cases per year per 100,000 population)

(Reproduced from Dr. W. F. Libby)

	Bone Cancer	*Leukemia*
Denver	2.4	6.4
New Orleans	2.8	6.9
San Francisco	2.9	10.3

> It is clear from this table that there is no obvious effect of altitude, and it is also clear that there are other factors which are noticeably more important than cosmic-ray dosage. Of course there may still be a considerable effect of altitude hidden in large fluctuations caused by other factors . . . and we cannot say that this *proves* anything. It does, however, give us some assurance from normal experience that the effect of eight Sunshine Units will not cause a detectable increase in bone cancer or leukemia.

The reference to eight Sunshine Units means eight micromicrograms of strontium-90 per gram of calcium in the bones, which is about the equivalent of the increased intensity of the cosmic rays in Denver.

Dr. Libby is, of course, right in

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saying that this statistical argument does not prove anything. Nobody knows why there has been reported a larger incidence of bone cancer and leukemia in San Francisco than in Denver and New Orleans. It is possible that the medical statistics given in the table are so unreliable as to put the cities in the wrong order—the number of cases of bone cancer and leukemia in these cities in 1947 was so small that statistical fluctuations would cause each of the numbers in the table to be uncertain by one or two units, so that the differenees cannot be considered to be very significant. Also, it is possible that the exposure to natural radioactivity—radium and potassium-40—is significantly different in the different cities. It is not unlikely that the exposure to medical X-rays is significantly different in the different cities; it is with little doubt considerably larger in San Francisco than in the other two cities. It is probable that the average age of the people in Denver is less than that of the people in the other two cities, and the incidence of cancer increases with increasing age. And it may be that patients with these diseases are attracted to San Francisco and New Orleans by their medical facilities, and not to Denver.

Dr. Libby is right in saying that his argument does not prove anything. But he is wrong in then saying that it gives us assurance about the effect of strontium-90. An effect as large as a 10 per cent increase of leukemia and bone cancer caused by cosmic rays in Denver obviously could be masked by whatever effects are responsible for the difference in the numbers.

Dr. Edward Teller and Dr. Albert Latter have included this argument in their article "The Compelling Need for Nuclear Tests," which was published in *Life* Magazine for February 10, 1958, and in their book *Our Nuclear Future*. After presenting the argument briefly, they stated that "The only thing these statistics prove is that radiation in small doses need not necessarily be harmful—indeed may conceivably be helpful."

This statement by Dr. Teller and Dr. Latter is more than a misleading statement; it is not valid.

Dr. Teller and Dr. Latter say that the statistics *prove* that radiation in small doses need not necessarily be harmful, may conceivably be helpful. *The statistics do not prove this in any way;* as Dr. Libby has said, *these statistics do not prove anything.*

DR. EDWARD TELLER is an able and experienced scientist who was born and educated in Hungary and who came to the United States in 1935. During recent years he has become well known to the people of the United States and of other countries as "The Father of the H-Bomb." He has been called in by President Eisenhower to discuss nuclear weapons, and he himself has made many public statements about nuclear weapons, fallout, the education of scientists in the USSR and the United States, and other topics.

Dr. Teller's public statements about fallout and its biological effects may be misunderstood by some readers. The discussion given here may help the reader to discover the truth.

As a simple example, I may quote the statement made by Dr. Teller that "The world-wide fallout is as dangerous to human health as being one ounce overweight."

It would be hard to make a statement about fallout more easily subject to misinterpretation than this. What meaning does being "one ounce overweight" have? No scientist believes that being one ounce overweight causes a significant in-

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"She's All Cleaned Up and We Call Her Petunia."

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crease in the probability of having one's life cut short by leukemia or bone cancer or other disease—yet many scientists believe that fallout radioactivity increases the incidence of these diseases.

Dr. Teller's statement is ludicrous, and it is seriously misleading in that it gives the impression that the idea that fallout can shorten life expectancy is also ludicrous.

In making his statement, Dr. Teller was discussing life expectancy on a statistical basis. But he made a serious error in the interpretation of the statistical information, leading him to overestimate by a factor of 1,500 the statistical effect of being one-ounce overweight. Indeed, a correct interpretation of the statistics would have led him to say: "The world-wide fallout is 1,500 times as dangerous to human health as being one-ounce overweight." I have presented a paper to the National Academy of Sciences on "The Relation Between Longevity and Obesity in Human Beings," in which this question is discussed.

IN *LIFE* of February 10, 1958, the erroneous statements begin on the cover. Here, in large letters, is the statement: "Dr. Teller Refutes 9,000 Scientists." According to the dictionary, to refute means "to disprove and overthrow by arguments or proofs; to prove to be false or erroneous." In fact, Dr. Teller did not show that any single statement in the petition presented by 9,235 scientists to the United Nations was false or erroneous. He did not disprove and overthrow, by any valid argument, evidence, or proof, any part of the petition.

The way in which Dr. Teller underestimates the fallout risks can be illustrated by his figures on radiation due to strontium-90. After discussing this element, which he properly calls a dangerous poison, and after mentioning that there is strong evidence that radiation such as that produced by it increases the chances of contracting bone cancer or leukemia, he says: "This sounds frightening until one considers the slight amount of radiation we are subjected to from world-wide fallout." He notes that the strontium-90 that falls to the earth is absorbed by growing plants and reaches our bodies when we eat the plants or when we drink milk from cows that have grazed on radioactive grass. He mentions that the humans who absorb the greatest dosage of strontium-90 are young children—especially those in the northern part of the United States, a region of maximum fallout. Then he says:

> Adults who reached mature growth before the atomic testing started are now getting about 0.0003 roentgen a year in their bones from strontium-90. Children who have grown up in an environment of strontium-90 are absorbing a larger dose, but it is still less than 0.002 roentgen a year (in addition, all of us receive a roughly equal amount from cesium 137). . . . If tests continue at the present rate, radiation levels might increase as much as five-fold.

The best information that we now have about strontium-90 in the bones of man was published in the February 7, 1958, issue of the magazine *Science* by Dr. J. Laurence Kulp of the Lamont Geological Observatory of Columbia University and his colleagues, Drs. W. R. Eckelmann and A. R. Schulert. Their results lead to the equilibrium level of 20 micromicrocuries of strontium-90 per gram of calcium, if testing is continued at the present rate. This corresponds to about 0.05 roentgen per year of radiation to the bones—not a five-fold increase, as Dr. Teller said, but a twenty-five-fold increase over the present value for children, and a 167-fold increase over the present value for adults. Dr. Teller underestimates the future danger by a factor of five, relative to children, and of thirty-three relative to adults.

DR. TELLER makes the point that the people of Tibet have been exposed for generation after generation to a considerably larger amount of cosmic radiation than people who live at lower altitudes, and comments: "Yet genetic differences have not been noted in the humans of Tibet, or for that matter in any other living species there." But he surely knew, or should have known, that there exist no medical statistics whatsoever on Tibet to permit one to say whether or not genetic differences exist. His comment, strictly speaking, cannot be said to be false. It is true that genetic differences attributable to cosmic radiation have not been noticed in the humans of Tibet or other living species there; but it is also true that they have not been looked for. Thus the paragraph must be described as seriously misleading.

DR. TELLER has some comments to make on the American servicemen and Marshall Islanders who were exposed to fallout radioactivity after the Bikini explosion of March 1, 1954. He recalled that twenty-eight American servicemen on the island of Rongerik received an average dosage of about seventy-eight roentgens; eighteen Marshallese on Ailinginae received sixty-nine roentgens; 157 on Utirik received fourteen roentgens, and sixty-four on Rongelap received an average of 175 roentgens. (Ten miles farther north on Rongelap, the inhabitants would have received 400 roentgens, which would have given them only a 50-50 chance of survival; and, on the northern tip of the island, thirty miles away, the dosage would have been over 2,000 roentgens, which would have meant certain death.)

Dr. Teller mentioned that the sixty-four native inhabitants of Rongelap complained at first of nausea, fever, stomach-ache, itching skin and burning sensations, skin lesions and loss of hair, but points out that after six months the lost hair had grown out again and the skin lesions had healed. Of the four pregnancies among the Rongelap women at the time of the exposure, Dr. Teller writes, three subsequently resulted in normal births. The fourth child was born dead. He adds:

> The important fact is that today, more than three years after the accident, all of the Marshallese and American victims seem to be fully recovered from a dosage of radioactivity far greater than any humans are ever likely to be subjected to again from a bomb test. Although long-term effects are being carefully watched for, no malignancies or cases of leukemia have shown up to date.

But the probability of incidence of leukemia or bone cancer after exposure to radiation is such that the

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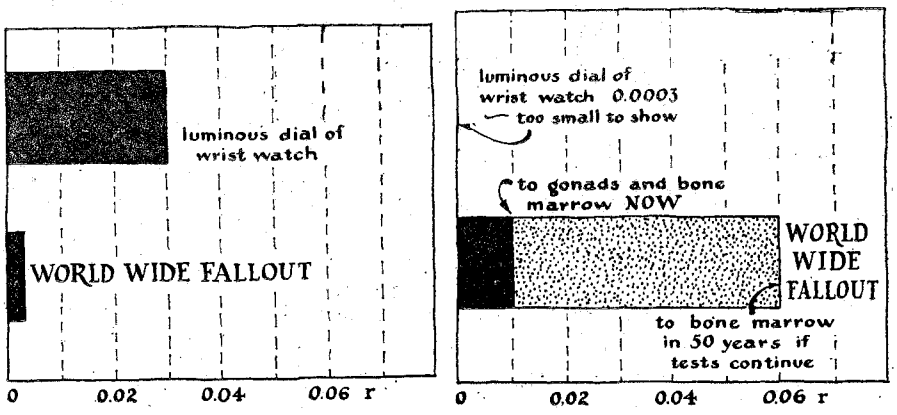
Fable of the "Deadly" Wrist Watch



Dr. Teller's Version *Dr. Pauling's Version*

exposure received by these 267 human beings would be expected to cause about one death by leukemia or bone cancer among them in twenty-five years. Accordingly, the fact that none of the American servicemen or Marshall Islanders had died of leukemia or bone cancer in the course of three years has little value as evidence.

DR. LIBBY, in an article in *Science* in 1955, wrote:

> A wrist watch worn twenty-four hours per day that has a luminous dial assumed to have one microcurie of radium per watch—a figure perhaps slightly larger than the average—would give the central body, including the sex organs (at average distance of one foot), a dosage of about 0.040 roentgen per year.

Dr. Teller stated subsequently, in his book and his *Life* article, that a wrist watch with a luminous dial subjects us to much more radiation than we get from fallout. He amplified this statement in a chart, as shown in the accompanying figure. His chart carried the caption: "Radiation danger to the average person from various sources is shown in chart in roentgens per year (figures at bottom)." The effect of wrist watches is given as 0.030 roentgen, and that of fallout as 0.003, per year. Hence he concludes that the radiation danger to the average person is ten times as great from wrist watches as from fallout.

Both Dr. Libby and Dr. Teller overestimate the wrist-watch effect greatly. Dr. Libby admitted that one microcurie of radium might be too high a figure for the average wrist watch. The British Report of the Medical Research Council (1953) says that measurements and calculations give one-fifth of a microcurie of radium for the average wrist watch.

Dr. Libby's calculation was for a watch carried one foot from the gonads, twenty-four hours a day, throughout the life of the person. I think that sixteen or eighteen inches is a more accurate estimate for distance. Moreover, watches are often worn only a part of each day and during only a part of a lifetime. These circumstances probably introduce a correction factor of one-quarter.

Moreover, only about 15 per cent of the people in the United States and Europe wear wrist watches with radium dials, and probably less than 3 per cent of the people throughout the world. This fact gives a correction factor of 0.15 or 0.03.

Dr. Teller cannot contend that his chart was intended to show the radiation exposure of only those people who wear wrist watches, rather than of the *average* person. First, the chart legend reads: "Radiation danger to the *average* person" (emphasis added). Second, he includes in the chart a representation of a value for medical X-rays which is the average value for *all* people in the United States, and not the much higher value for those who receive X-ray treatment.

The exposure of the gonads of the average person in the United States to wrist-watch radioactivity is hence about $0.040 \times 1/5 \times \frac{1}{4} \times 0.15 = 0.0003$ roentgen per year. The exposure for the average person in the world is about 0.00006 roentgen per year. The value given by Dr. Teller—0.030 roentgen per year—is one hundred times too large for the average person in the United States, and 500 times too large for the average person in the world! Compare our chart with the Teller-Latter chart.

IN HIS BOOK and his *Life* article, Dr. Teller shows a photograph of five intrepid Air Force officers standing unsheltered while a nuclear bomb explodes 19,000 feet directly above their heads. They experienced only a wave of warmth, a loud noise, and no significant rise in radioactivity.

Can we conclude from this that nuclear bombs are safe? If the bomb had been exploded at 1,900 rather than 19,000 feet, the immediate radiation would have been one hundred times as great, and the officers might not have survived. The Hiroshima bomb was detonated at an altitude of 2,200 feet.

Dr. Teller does not say how big the bomb was. It was probably smaller than one kiloton. He does not say that the bombs now in the arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union are 10,000 or 20,000 times more powerful. The officers could not stand unharmed under such bombs.

One does not have to be an H-bomb scientist, or to have secret information, to know that Dr. Teller's minuscule bomb was a simple fission bomb, made of plutonium (possibly mixed with some uranium-235). It was a "dirty" bomb, releasing much radioactivity in relation to its explosive energy. Yet Leonard Engel, in his review of the Teller-Latter book in *The New York Times* Book Review for March 23, 1958, was misled into describing the bomb as showing the progress that has been made in developing "clean" nuclear explosives!

AMOUNTS OF radiation and of radioactive elements are often compared with the Maximum Permissible Dose (MPD) of radiation and of the Maximum Permissible Concentration (MPC) of radioactive elements. The significance of these

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quantities is still uncertain, and there has been much misunderstanding of their meaning.

Beginning in 1928, the International Commission on Radiological Protection has set standards and procedures for protection from radiation and radioactive materials on an international basis. The same work has been done for the United States since 1929 by the National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurement. From time to time recommendations are made by these organizations about the permissible doses for external radiation and internal radiation and for protection against high-energy radiation and radioactive elements in general.

The MPD and the MPC are not the amounts that are known to be safe, or to cause no harm whatever to human beings and to future generations. They are, instead, values that do not cause obvious harm. This fact is reflected in the history of the development of these standards of protection.

IN 1925, WHEN the International Commission on Radiological Units and Measurements was established by the First International Congress of Radiology, the MPD was set as an amount that caused a certain amount of erythema (redness of the skin), which is estimated to correspond to fifty to one hundred roentgens per year. In 1934, the International Commission on Radiological Protection adopted the MPC as 0.2 roentgen per day, equal to 72 roentgens per year. In 1935, the National Committee on Radiological Protection adopted the value of 0.1 roentgen per day, equal to thirty-six roentgens per year. In 1947, the NCRP lowered the MPD to 0.3 roentgen per week (fifteen roentgens per year), and in 1957 it was lowered again to 0.1 roentgen per week (five roentgens per year). The change from 0.3 roentgen per week to 0.1 roentgen per week for people exposed to radiation in the course of their professional work was adopted by the AEC in December, 1957.

The present MPC is accordingly only one-fourteenth of that adopted in 1934.

The significance of the 1934 MPD and the present MPD can be estimated by consideration of the life-shortening effect. The life-shortening effect is with little doubt somewhere within the range of one to twenty days per roentgen. If we take the minimum value of one day per roentgen, the life-shortening effect of the MPD in 1934 was seventy-two days for each year of exposure, or about eight years for a worker who received a maximum exposure throughout his active period of forty years of employment. The present MPD corresponds to seven months' decrease in life expectancy (if the life-shortening effect is for one day per roentgen) for a worker who receives the MPD over a period of forty years, and correspondingly more if the life-shortening effect is larger (three years if it is five days per roentgen).

It is likely that a major part of the life-shortening effect results from the increased incidence of leukemia and other diseases that cut life short by perhaps twenty years. If all of the life-shortening effects were of this sort, and the magnitude were one day per roentgen, it would be expected that—with the MPD at its present level—one worker out of thirty-five who received the MPD over a period of forty years would die twenty years early as a result of radiation injury.

There are, of course, uncertainties about these estimates, but there is little doubt that they give an approximate indication of the significance of radiation damage corresponding to the MPD.

THE MPC OF strontium-90 has been set at 1,000 strontium units (micromicrocuries per gram of calcium). This concentration of strontium-90 irradiates the bones and bone marrow by approximately one to three roentgens per year. The damage to health that can be expected from it is approximately that described above, if the effect of small amounts of radiation is similar to that of large amounts (although proportional to the dose).

The recommendation has been made that the values of the MPD and MPC should be smaller for large populations, such as the population of the world as a whole, than for industrial workers and other small populations. Suggested values are one-tenth to one-fiftieth of the values for small groups of people. The argument involved is that a dose of radiation or a concentration of radioactive element that seriously damages the health of one out of, say, one hundred recipients might be tolerated in a small group, of the order of hundreds in size, but that it should not be tolerated for the whole population of the United States or of the world, because it would lead to damage to millions or tens of millions of individual human beings. Similarly, a gonad dose that increases by some amount the mutation rate for a few human beings in the world would not seriously damage the pool of human germ plasm, but a gonad dose of, say, fifty roentgens for the entire population of the world would double the mutation rate and, if continued, would double the number of seriously defective children born in future generations.

IT IS unjustifiable to speak of the MPD or MPC as a safe amount of exposure, or an amount of exposure that does no damage. An example of the misunderstanding that has arisen is provided by an article by correspondent Gladwyn Hill of *The New York Times* of June 9, 1957. In discussing some tests of small nuclear weapons at the Nevada Test Area, Mr. Hill wrote that the amount of exposure of people in the neighborhood to fallout radioactivity and to radiation from the tests was far less than the fifty roentgens which had been set by the Committee on Biological Effects of Atomic Radiation of the National Academy of Science—National Research Council as the amount that does no harm. This was an error in interpretation; the committee did not describe fifty roentgens, nor ten roentgens, as an amount that does no harm, but said only that any additional radiation is undesirable, and that genetic harm is proportional to the total dose.

The best course that we can follow, therefore, is that recommended by the committee: *keep the dose as low as you can.*

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THE CIRCULAR SELL . . *by David Cort*

TWO GREAT FAILURES of advertising preceded and accompanied the present business recession. Neither the new long, high-powered, wing-swept automobile, nor the sack dress,* could be sold to the American people. These two awful letdowns unraveled America's first and third biggest industries, disgruntled the customers and temporarily shook advertising's ulcered self-confidence.

"Campaign to Beat Back Attacks on Ads Urged," said a New York *Herald Tribune* headline April 16. An agency took a full-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal* April 23 to say, "Advertising makes possible the high-speed distribution that is the key to our economic system. Without it, capitalism as we know it would be impossible." (The "as we know it" is the important part of this.)

Advertising is indeed, as it urgently should be, under re-appraisal by the American people. A few notes along this line have been contributed by me; but now I find that many of the same points were made better, earlier and more politely in David M. Potter's admirable book, *People of Plenty* (Chicago, 1954), about the "throwaway culture" that advertising has created. Mr. Potter pays advertising the (deserved, I think) compliment of grouping it with the other "instruments of social control." Of these, the church traditionally guides man as an immortal soul, the school as a reasoning creature, the free-enterprise system as a producer and earner. Advertising has its own theory of man; he is a consumer. The first three exhort man to greater and higher effort; the last pleads with him to make the biggest possible pig of himself. In its basic function advertising, unlike the other three, "has no social goals and no social responsibility for what it does with its influence." Potter measures the social influence of advertising in terms of money spent by advertisers for every separate American family (the figure for 1957: $350) against $152 spent (1951) on primary and secondary public education. Less is spent selling the two candidates for President in an election year than on selling soap.

The foregoing seems to me unanswerable.

THE kind of responsibility advertising really feels, that is, to its client, is construed by advertising as a true social responsibility. Lately it has even taken shape, in the current "Buy Now" campaigns, as a patriotic responsibility. To these people, a recession very quickly begins to look like another Pearl Harbor. This is very funny, if we are right in thinking that the Admiral Kimmel of this disaster was advertising itself.

Thus, advertising has pitched the key of "Buy Now" on a level oddly reminiscent of 1942's "Hate the Jap." Boston has an official campaign to "combat loose recession talk." Cleveland has debauched Churchill's "V for Victory" into a "V for Values" selling campaign, renamed its main street "Value Avenue" and may, as a city, take on the *nom de crise* of Valuetown, U.S.A." A New Jersey tire store trumpets, "Buy! Buy! Buy! It's Your Patriotic Duty." The Advertising Council, Inc., will spend over $10,000,000 on a "Confidence in a Growing America" campaign. The Public Relations Society of America has circularized its members to squeeze only bullish news out of their companies. The American Management Association had an executives' mass meeting May 19-20 to exude optimism. Hotpoint (electrical-appliance) dealers wear buttons inscribed "Business is Good." Dallas ad men, much more patriotic, wear breast-pocket handkerchiefs saying "Business Is GREAT!" A St. Louis bank actually advertised that there can be nothing more harmful than "excessive saving."

One does not have to be a satirist to get the strong reek of wartime propaganda, of the venal simulation of the survival desperation effort of the whole team where any dissent is disastrous subversion. Yet advertising got us into this mess (it can be argued); now the advertising commands us not to call it a mess and to buy our way out of it instanter. I expect soon to read of some poor little merchant strung up to a lamp post by a mob of infuriated ad men because he was suspected of muttering, "Business is lousy."

Since we all want to get out of the recession as quickly as possible, the laughs are thin and cut short. Still, to let advertising try to kid us out of a situation it may have partly kidded us into would not seem very bright. Indeed, advertising's frantic faith that it could do so is a neurotic symptom, if it is not the second stage of that sequence popularized by Toynbee from the Greek: get fat, kick wildly, death.

THE PRESENT nervousness of ad men however, may also be traced to the effects of the two healthiest subdivisions of advertising: market research and industrial design.

The first is described very faithfully in Martin Mayer's recent *Madison Avenue, U.S.A.* (Harper) and the most important of the seventy market research organizations deserve listing here. Ernest Dichter and his Institute of Motivational Research look for the customer's "image" of the product in both Freudian and sociological senses. James Vicary invented subliminal advertising and discovered that people in supermarkets give fewer eyeblinks per minute; he also tests new brand names. Alfred Politz, who has only ten big clients, gets the "right answers" by asking the ingeniously "right" questions and looks for the

*Recent claims that the sack is catching on do not change the industry's loss of the critical November-Easter selling season. The writer admires the sack dress as an attempt to draw attention away from those two great disillusioners, the girdle and the bra, but he sees true sacks only on the rich, and modified sacks on working girls. Smart, middle-class women cannot afford a wasted dress. The sack never made the boat.

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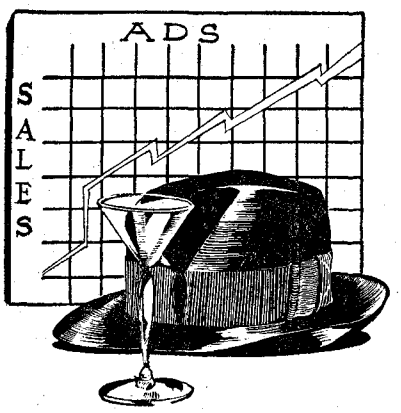
"controllable cause" of purchase. Market Research Corporation buys shopping diaries from 4,000 individuals daily, 7,000 households weekly. Arthur D. Little does operations research with the Theory of Games, mathematical formulas and electronic calculators. Daniel Starch tests every issue of twenty-four magazines on readers' recognition of, and susceptibility to, every ad in them. Gallup and Robinson do more searching catechism. Gallup's Audience Research also uses a free theatre near Princeton, N.J., where audiences fiddle with dials to show interest. Schwerin Research Corporation has a Manhattan theatre, using giveaways and questionnaires. Finally, the champion, A. C. Nielson, produces the official TV ratings with



1,000 Audimeters (seventy always out of order), and also takes periodic audits of 700 drug stores and 1,600 grocers to get national sales figures. Terrifying, huh?

The advertisers and agencies have made Nielsen's TV ratings the final, official gauge of popularity of entertainment. Mayer complacently says, "How can 930 households state the actual habits of some 40-million-plus homes with television sets? . . . Well, oddly enough, it can—within certain predictable ranges of error. . . . Mathematical statistics, given its logical assumptions, is an exact science."

The foregoing quotation is possibly the most beautiful example of the scientific lie that could be found.

WHAT IS UNDER discussion is a mathematical theory called the Theory of Sampling. The time has come when the individual in a democracy had better understand the rudiments of this theory, because the monopolists of the theory are perfectly capable of saying "Why bother with elections? We can tell you what you think much more cheaply." These "samplers" are the most ambitious, foolish and dangerous people in the United States.

Naturally I can only report what the mathematicians tell me. An engineer who works with the Theory of Sampling said, "Nielsen's ratings are not in the field of statistics at all; they are in the field of opinion."

A graduate mathematician tried to explain the Theory of Sampling. This, as it says, is a theory, on which an elaborate mathematics has been constructed. The theory, which must become an increasingly important technique in dealing with a mass society, generally works, if one plays by the rules. Nielsen and the others do not play by the rules. A "stratified sample" is one broken into homogeneous sub-groups represented in the sample in the same proportion as in the whole. Common sense and experience will teach the proper number of sub-groups. The difficulty comes in defining the significant sub-groups. To test the apples on the sunny side of an apple tree, one sample may be enough. But nobody would generalize about all women after sampling one. It is assumed that each sub-group will show some deviation, one way or another, from the total truth, but it is hoped that the oscillation of error will constantly become narrower, the larger the sample used.

Nearly all the equations based on the Theory of Sampling use a figure, usually represented as *sigma*, standing for the "standard deviation of the sample." But Nielsen has no such figure and can never in this world get any such figure, because he can never know even roughly how many people were actually looking at anything at any time, and therefore what his sample's deviation was.

But what removes Nielson's ratings entirely from the field of statistics is that, for all I know, there may well be more than 930 *kinds* of households in the forty-million plus. Suppose this pathetic total of 930 families decide one night to toss a coin as to whether to listen to Perry Como or his opposition. If the sample included an infinite number of homes, it would divide almost evenly, but with only 930 tosses of the coin, it might come out (taking the standard deviation or expected error) about 14.7 off, or 480 for Como, 450 for his opposition, or a rousing 6.6 per cent advantage.

Nielsen gets still funnier when we realize that even his few families are constantly changing: a young member who has dominated the TV-tuning falls in love, the big-league baseball races get tense, Father is laid off the job and sonny takes a part-time job, the children are permitted to stay up another hour, or a good movie comes to town that night.

Doubtless *The Nation* will return to this tricky subject. The foregoing does not claim to be the last word, but it faithfully reflects what disinterested mathematicians say. For professional statisticians, sampling is their career, their livelihood and their secret.

THE truth about limited sampling is that the ordinary human being who gets around has been doing it since the world began, and may be better at it than the market-research boys. His biggest asset is that, having known the members of his sample a long time, he knows how to weight the data. A few, perhaps, a very few, people have the gift of penetrating more deeply into the lives around them and really understand the true preferences far beneath the verbal avowals. Advertising's attitude toward such intuition is given in Martin Mayer's quotation of the three most terrible words in the business, "My . . . wife . . . thinks." Actually, ad men, as well as politicians and editorial writers, do far better to think of "The People" as the people they personally know than as a beautiful and fictional abstraction. As the Theory of Sampling shows, a mathematics of life can be developed if one uses a figure for "deviation" or error. But this should lead one to reduce the deviation, that is, to pick better friends or wives in the first place. Or perhaps

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we should pass a law against the Theory of Sampling.

As market research cuts in on the advertising genius from one flank, industrial design cuts in on the other, notably in the realm of *package* design, which is of course a kind of advertising, just as the very look of the new car or the sack dress on the street is a kind of package design or advertising, whether good or bad. Certainly neither has any functional, engineering purpose.

The package design does its work at the "point of purchase" and again in fitting suitably into the buyer's life. As for the first point, manufacturers now pay supermarkets premiums for space for their packages at eye-level, from four to six feet above the floor. It has been found, in surveys, that women going into a supermarket say they are going to buy one brand, and come out with a different brand, probably taken because of shelf position, package design, color or shape. In many products, such as paper towels, buyers don't even know the brand name. They have bought an appearance, i.e., a package design. I do it myself; everybody does it. The actual package, speaking directly and brilliantly to the buyer at the key moment, is more eloquent than the half-forgotten advertising myth in the buyer's memory. To assist this great work, multiple-packs are becoming more popular because they wrap round cans or jars in a flat surface on which a readable selling story can be told.

The interesting thing about the 200 industrial designers who do package advertising is that they have some honor. They want the thing to look like itself, to be useful and to cost less. They disapproved, from the start, of the new cars. They dislike "phony obsolescence" and like the genuine kind. They try to appeal to people's good sense and good taste; advertising appeals to almost anything else.

PERHAPS THE central criticism of advertising should be of its half-baked, shopworn sophistication, as if it were all a practical joke. This was nowhere clearer than in Martin Mayer's naive and friendly survey. And what a joke! Some seventy-three companies spending $10,000,000 each (1956) on advertising, over half on the kitchen and bathroom, most of the rest on cars and cigarettes.

A quarter of agency executives are Ivy League; the dress is neat but not gray flannel or pink shirt. The salary scale runs: 1) agencies; 2) media, 3) clients. The order of status or prestige is different: 1) clients, 2) agencies and 3) media. The media's salesmen are the unwanted nags and indispensable town criers of the business. The agency's forgotten man is usually the media buyer. The copywriter ranks over the art man. Without a smile, Mayer reports the vast and various mumbo-jumbo that surrounds an agency's production of an "idea." A combination of group-think, brainstorming, cost accounting, market research, pseudo-science, idea-stealing and blind hunch, the process is perhaps inevitable where uncreative people are part of the act of creation. The jargon can only be called philosophy. One agency seeks the Unique Selling Proposition (USP), another empathy, another the "brand image," another the product's "inherent drama," while the big agencies use all the jargons impartially.

I must tell Mayer that the best

USP is the proposition that a product is the one thing it is not. Thus, the cigarette smoked primarily by timid men must be advertised as all-man, the ordinary whisky is only for "Men of Distinction," the plain, comfortable shoe is not comfortable but glamorous, the expensive, elite product is for absolutely everybody, etc., etc. Since the people who really want the product are never numerous enough, one must speak to the others who don't especially want it.

ADVERTISING, according to Mayer, is tactically fascinating. TV is for advertising appeals and products that are fairly simple and of low interest. "Saturation" is achieved by hypnotic slogans or jingles, sometimes repeated 600 times a week on one station (Hit Parade cigarettes). Radio today is for people doing something else—driving the car or finishing the housework or reading the evening paper. The price of the peak hours, 8 to 10:30 p.m., is three times the price of daylight hours. TV costs four times as much as radio. The 150 stations affiliated with the three networks cover areas accounting for two-thirds of all retail sales. At the peak hours some 400 stations will be running the network shows. For this outlet, the network pays the station 28 per cent of its time charge and gives it the right to sell some sixty seconds an hour at the station identification breaks.

Mayer correctly describes TV as "the greatest selling medium ever devised," partly because it reaches that third or half the population that simply does not read (whether or not it can), partly because the TV commercial blasts into the viewer's mind willy-nilly while he is half-stupefied. (The only better advertising medium would be bedroom ceilings.)

It is not generally safe to be naive about ad men; they are in too tight a squeeze between clients and media, market research and industrial design, ever to be naive themselves; and they number some very polished jokers.

"To make people do things: that's the fun," one of them is quoted. You and I are the people he wants to have fun with.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Private Wealth and Public Poverty

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY. By John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin Co. 368 pp. $4.75.

Michael D. Reagan

JOHN GALBRAITH'S argument, in much too abbreviated form, runs like this: economic thought has long been directed to scarcity and privation. Its central concerns have been to increase production of needed goods, decrease inequality of income, and insure personal security. Until very recently, the emphasis on production was great enough to stifle any question concerning the relative value of the things produced. So long as the majority needed shelter, food and clothing—so long as scarcity was the problem—this stress made sense.

But events marched on while ideas marked time. We are no longer really interested, conservative and liberal rhetoric to the contrary, in increasing output for the sake of the goods themselves; our concern now is for production to support full employment and economic security. No better proof of that proposition need be offered than the current campaign, urged by publishers and producers and endorsed by President Eisenhower, to "buy now," not because we need the goods but to fight the slump.

In its March, 1958, Letter on Economic Conditions, the First National City Bank asserted that we are saturated with homes, cars and factories for the time being, *and* attacked proposed spending on urban redevelopment, schools and low-income housing as being distrustful of self-reliance and evidence of a liberal belief "that the Government knows better how to spend money than does the citizen." That is, even if our desire for private goods is not great enough to keep production going, any shift to production of social goods is to be condemned!

The first assertion in this prime example of what Galbraith labels sardonically the "conventional wisdom" is an inadvertent admission of his primary theme: additional investment in the production of consumer goods is something less than an urgent need. The attack on public projects is the opposite of his second theme: the current plethora of gadgets gives us an unprecedented opportunity to redress a badly skewed balance between goods held individually and goods held socially. Against the bankers' cliché about self-reliance, two questions raised by Galbraith's analysis are sufficient reply. Can the individual parent by "self-reliance" provide his children with a new school or adequate recreational facilities? Is the citizen's choice between personal goods and public services really free when the former receive *all* the attention of advertising and the latter none?

Because of these discrepancies, we have public poverty in the midst of private wealth. The point is brought home by Galbraith's capsule travelogue:

> The family which takes its mauve and cerise, air-conditioned, power-steered, and power-braked automobile out for a tour passes through cities that are badly paved, made hideous by litter, blighted buildings, billboards, and posts for wires that should long since have been put underground. They pass into a countryside that has been rendered largely invisible by commercial art.... They picnic on exquisitely packaged food from a portable icebox by a polluted stream and go on to spend the night at a park which is a menace to public health and morals. Just before dozing off on an air mattress, beneath a nylon tent, amid the stench of decaying refuse, they may reflect vaguely on the curious unevenness of their blessings.

In the past six months this vague reflection has turned into concrete complaint. An American Assembly background paper warns that, despite its comparative failure in producing cars and shoes, Russia can, by concentrating resources, outproduce us in crucial areas of military technology; the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has reported a need for planned improvement in housing, health insurance and other services not adequately met by market mechanisms; and August Heckscher, director of the Twentieth Century Fund, makes the daring suggestion that the same resourcefulness we apply to stimulating consumer appetites be "devoted by public leaders to stirring up the wants of people as citizens."

THIS apparent awakening (to needs long argued in some other quarters, e.g. *The Nation*) is one of the most hopeful developments in the year One P.S. (post-sputnik). But if public necessities are gaining over private luxuries only because of the immediate threats of satellite competition and a depression, the tendency may as quickly reverse under a new onslaught from the spokesmen for the conventional wisdom. Galbraith's exciting new book is valuable because it presents a reasoned attack on the productivity ethic and a concrete, provocative program for altering the economic structure to maintain a new social balance when it has been achieved.

By pressing constantly on our capacity to produce private goods, we create the very inflation we all abhor. Inflation and community deterioration are high costs to pay for income security. Can we avoid them? Galbraith says we can, but his prescription will afflict the comfortable in both left and right wings of economic policy. Here are the major elements in his program:

(1) Reduce inflationary pressure by accepting a margin of unemployment of up to four million.

(2) Provide income security to the unemployed by a system of Cyclically Graduated Compensation that would pay up to ninety per

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cent of normal wages when unemployment is high, but decrease when job opportunities are good.

(3) Impose taxes that would automatically increase the public revenues available for social goods and services as national income increases.

Corporate and personal income taxes fit this plan, but are not enough because they are almost preempted by the federal government, while many of the most-needed services fall within state and local jurisdiction. For the latter, he advocates a much-expanded use of the sales tax.

Hold on, liberals. Galbraith is not a representative of the Federation of State Chambers of Commerce. To the objection that the sales tax weighs most heavily on the poor he replies that in the affluent society the proper policy is to remove poverty, not to bow to it. The improved social balance obtainable by sales tax revenues can be used to prepare the children of the poor for productive jobs that will raise them out of poverty.

WITH such a program we would have the private goods we need, yet be released from the prospect of the subliminal sell as the only way to keep the production lines rolling. We would have reasonably full employment without permanent inflation. And we would have a solid base for public services which benefit the entire community.

I think Galbraith would agree that his fiscal recommendations may not be the only possible way to achieve these ends. But the burden rests on liberals to suggest a better alternative. The problem of social balance cannot be solved by sporadic decisions to spend more on schools, streets and hospitals; increased national wealth will automatically flow to marketable commodities unless there is social intervention to divert the income stream to the public sector. We wouldn't buy as many cars as we do if proof of need had to be submitted for each one, as is the case with schools and hospitals!

Many objections may occur to the reader; some he will find answered in the book. Three for which answers are not readily apparent occur to this reader. The first is that productivity outruns needs today only in terms of the domestic market. From a world view, all our output and more *could* be invaluable to Asian-African peoples—and South Americans! What Galbraith means by his attack is that the problem of *consumer* goods has been solved *for America,* but he states his case in a way to neglect the qualifications. Perhaps overstatement was necessary to make the case effectively.

A second objection is that he disposes too easily of the problem of poverty in America. Granted that improved social balance would in the long run be of greater value to the poor than avoidance of a sales tax, it seems hyperbolic to say that "In the affluent society no useful distinction can be made between luxuries and necessaries." "Affluent," is a middle- and upper-income label. It does not, even in America, apply to the twenty per cent of families whose average income is below $3,000. For these families, food and clothing are not "opulent expenditures," and a sales tax which fails to distinguish such items from the outboard runabouts of the seven-thousand-dollar family strikes me as inconsistent with the rest of his program.

Finally, the greater success of national than of state and local politics in taking the long view makes one doubt the likelihood of obtaining sufficient taxes of any kind from state legislatures and city councils. The liberal influence which would approve Galbraith's social program is much stronger in national politics. For this reason a federal grant-in-aid program seems a more hopeful, if more cumbersome, arrangement.

These criticisms are at most qualifications upon a stimulating and persuasive argument. A more refreshing examination of the stereotypes of both liberal and conservative economic thought has not appeared in many a year.

Our Place in Europe

A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM? By K. Zilliacus. Monthly Review Press. 286 pp. $5.

RUSSIA, THE ATOM AND THE WEST. By George F. Kennan. Harper and Bros. 116 pp. $2.50.

THE BIG CHANGE IN EUROPE. By Blair Bolles. W. W. Norton and Co. 526 pp. $5.95.

Edgar Snow

THE need for a basic re-examination of American and Allied policy toward the Communist world has been dramatically apparent since Sputnik I. Few informed persons here or abroad still have the illusion that we can, by establishing "positions of superior strength," now force Soviet Russia to that internal collapse and "point of bankruptcy" which the optimistic John Foster Dulles two years ago told us had already arrived.

Our own recession, spreading international turmoil, and the daily peril that some "little war" may lead to general co-extermination, are relentless facts which push us toward serious negotiations to test out the true intent behind the current Soviet "peace offensive." The three books mentioned here make a useful contribution to the debate over the terms whereby "peaceful co-existence" might be stabilized.

Konni Zilliacus brings the left-wing British Laborite viewpoint to his account of recent talks with leaders in Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. He is a radical who has consistently tried to build a bridge between Fabianism and communism, and for his views he was once tossed out of the Labor Party—and barred from the United States. At about the same time he was denounced in Russia as an imperialist spy for his pro-Tito stand. Today again a Labor M.P., he is *persona grata* in the "Socialist camp," but still unwanted here.

Zilliacus' book provides valuable background on the renewed controversy between Belgrade and the Moscow-Peking axis over the "different-roads-to-socialism" doctrine versus the "proletarian dictatorship" (one road, no exit) dictum again being insisted upon by the latter. Zilliacus reports that as early as September, 1956, when Tito visited Khrushchev in Russia, he complained

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about a letter which the Soviet politburo had secretly circulated to warn all party secretaries against Belgrade's "revisionist" line. The October crisis in Poland was also credited to Tito's bad influence. Then, in his "provocative" speech at Pula, Tito told the Yugoslav Communists that the "root of the trouble" in both Poland and Hungary was "that the Soviet leaders had so far not been prepared to apply to all the Socialist states the principles of freedom and equality laid down in the Bulganin-Tito and the Khrushchev-Tito declarations of June, 1956."

"We Yugoslavs," Tito told Zilliacus he had informed Khrushchev, "don't think that the Communist and workers' parties in the Socialist states have a monopoly of the performing rights of socialism in the world. We believe that the whole world is in a state of transition, that the old order based on private enterprise is being increasingly replaced by economic forms involving state intervention, planning and public ownership. . . . The most one can say is that the Marxist-Leninist parties in the Socialist states have gone further on the path towards socialism and are working consciously to build [it]."

THIS heresy was attacked by all the "fraternal parties." In December, 1956, the Peking party press went farther than Moscow not only in repudiating "revisionism" but in rehabilitating Stalinism. Socialism, the *People's Daily* opined, was attainable only through following the "fundamental experience" of the Soviet Union (and China), i.e., by

Signal

This Spring, being what it is this year,
and it has been cold up to now
and the heat later will be
my god, how shall we stand it?

but after that storm Sunday, we
have acquired several slug-
gish flies.

I
am very tender with them.

PAUL BLACKBURN

way of the "proletarian dictatorship" led by true Communists. Stalin's mistakes, though serious, were after all mere "dogmatic" errors of a good Communist. "Revisionism," which overlooked the basic world-wide class conflict between the "Socialist camp" and the "imperialist camp," was a much greater mistake.

Last November at Moscow the Chinese thesis was incorporated in the Declaration of Communists, to which twelve parties—all but the Yugoslav—adhered. Doubtless the main purpose is to hold onto Poland and East Germany, but hope was still held out that Yugoslavia might yet "come home." Last April, however, the League of Yugoslav Communists, meeting in Belgrade, heard Tito repeat much of what he had said to Zilliacus.

Despite this internecine quarrel—indeed because open debate continues at all, an impossibility under Stalin—Zilliacus believes that the movement toward liberalization is bound to grow. "If [all] we want is to help these regimes to reform themselves, to experience a new birth of freedom," he concludes, "the future is ours." His first-hand study of Russia convinced him that pressures for reform are irreversible there, and irresistible. But any attempt to destroy the "new societies" by force will end in failure and death for all. Only policies by which the West actively seeks to reduce the military threat and enlarge economic and cultural exchanges with Russia and the satellites offer any real hope for peace and mutual progress.

GEORGE KENNAN (whom Zilliacus quotes with approval) reaches similar conclusions by the more philosophical approach of a diplomat and scholar of Russia. His short book consists mainly of a reprint of his Reith lectures delivered over BBC. Chiefly because Kennan originated the "containment thesis," a basis of the Truman Doctrine, his current views, (which repudiate much that was done to implement that doctrine), have made a deep impression in official circles—more so in Europe than here.

Kennan repeatedly stresses his belief that the Russian challenge is not, and never was, primarily one of military aggression. Russia confronts us "not just with a foreign policy or a military policy but with an integrated philosophy of action, internal and external." The real objective of competitive co-existence is "to see which of us moves most rapidly and successfully to the solution of his own particular problems."

Although he discounts magical solutions by way of summit meetings, global formulas, U.N. and other disarmament conferences, Kennan thinks nuclear arms competition must be halted, as not only futile but perilous for all. He favors negotiated mutual withdrawals from Central and Eastern Europe and an ultimate total withdrawal of U.S. and Russian troops behind their own frontiers. The heart of the problem is the neutralization of Germany.

"Our friends on the Continent have recently made exciting progress, despite all military danger, in welding the economic and technological efforts of the Western European peoples into a single competitive collaborative whole, and in moderating the sharp edges of . . . that absolute sovereignty which is one of the anachronisms of our time." Kennan would like to see England, Canada and the United States moving equally fast toward "common policies" —one of the aims of the original Marshall Plan.

THAT "exciting progress" toward European unification forms the principal theme, the "big change," emphasized by

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Blair Bolles. An able young newspaper man who served with the Foreign Policy Association for ten years, Bolles went to Europe in 1953 for the Toledo *Blade*. His long book takes a sympathetic view of the Europeans and their internal problems. He has praise and hope for Britain and admires the "prosperity men" of Germany. There are colorful profiles of key figures and intimate glimpses of family life, youth and its outlook, and numerous digressions into art, music, bearded Greek priests, the Townsend affair with Margaret, and so on. But there is a good deal of solid political reporting and shrewd judgments of the successes and failures of American policy — which he manifestly believes to be for the most part highly creditable. Bolles would like to see Europe "freed from the contradictory dodgings of current American leadership." Unlike Kennan, however, he would have us withdraw only from political interference while continuing to be "active in Europe militarily." He seems to be under the impression that the Soviet threat was and remains primarily one of military conquest.

Bolles apparently has not grasped the rudimentary fact that military intervention in a nation's affairs is inseparable from economic and political intervention; the policeman must be paid. Rich in detail, this book unfortunately lacks a very clear historical perspective. One can read it and remain scarcely aware of the causes of World War II in Europe or the complete breakdown of capitalism which followed it. It is true that the billions in American subsidy poured into Germany, and other war-devastated lands on the continent have refinanced the possessing classes which were bankrupted by the war, and thus staved off socialism for a time. Whether Western Europe has solved the critical modern problems inherent in unplanned production and distribution in any measure adequate to cope with the challenge of what Kennan calls "an integrated philosophy" remains to be seen. And it may be seen sooner than we suppose if our own recession and its effects abroad continue unchecked for another year.

One limitation common to all three of these books is that they fail to take sufficient note of the impact of Asia and Africa on Europe, particularly the growing influence of China on Soviet policy and the mounting crisis Africa (including the Middle East) presents to Britain, France and the United States. A glaring example of the contradictions in thinking which can arise from attempts to separate European peace from revolutionary problems elsewhere is George Kennan's speculation about the effects of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe. He assumes that these nations could then evolve "toward institutions and systems most suited to their needs; and what these institutions and systems might then be is something about which I think we in the West can afford to be very relaxed. If socialism is what these people want and need, so be it; but let it by all means be their own choice."

Tell that to Mr. Dulles—about China. Or to General de Gaulle—about Algeria.

Castaways

THE BLOCKHOUSE. By Jean-Paul Clebert. Coward-McCann, Inc. 224 pp. $3.50.

John Farrelly

DURING the Normandy landing in June, 1944, six men took shelter in a deserted blockhouse. The openings were sealed by the bombardment, and when they were opened, six years later, two men were still alive. So much for the factual basis of Mr. Clebert's first novel to be published in America.

After a futile effort to force an exit, the men settle themselves to await what they suppose is an imminent rescue. They explore the vast network of empty chambers and zig-zag passages that make up their prison, and the first question of their predicament is answered by storerooms of blankets, miscellaneous clothing, candles, cigarettes, food and wine. At first, they experience a sense of relief and excitement. "There was no date for going back to work." "Here there was plenty of food, companions (not exactly friends) and the means of getting drunk as lords." "This business really had an adventurous side to it which enchanted him."

It is the adventure of the castaway who constructs a recognizably normal, matter-of-fact life out of odds and ends and by his own ingenuity. Of first importance is the problem of measuring time in this sunless world. But each man has his personal sense of time and his device for calculating its passage. An inventory of supplies and a system of rationing candles would seem indicated. But the supplies are apparently inexhaustible. They number each room, designate its use, and in a common dormitory each man builds his own bed or cocoon from piles of blankets and woolen clothing, in a facsimile of domesticity. It is all like Robinson Crusoe — if Crusoe had landed on an island in Hell.

For there is really *no* work to do, and ingenuity is limited to "trying to find something to think about." Boredom, and the fear of boredom, give way to "idleness — that slow disgust with all movement of thought [which] was proving stronger than the boredom of doing nothing." All semblance of routine in eating or sleeping disappears for "those fat, soft, shapeless, idle larvae, incapable of emerging from their shells of wool."

The solidarity imposed on the men by their common fate begins to crack. One of them tries to establish himself as leader; he is isolated and cuts his throat. This poses the problem of "burial" in

JOHN FARRELLY is a free-lance critic. In recent years he has done post-graduate work at Cambridge and lectured on American literature at Trinity College, Dublin.

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the blockhouse. After several experiments, he is sewn up in a sack of flour. He is not to be the last. Two others "go away" into the further rooms on a homosexual honeymoon, grotesque and pathetic, until one smashes the other's skull with a brandy bottle, then isolates himself to die. Another is discovered in the "cemetery," nosing round the sacks, brushing them with his hand, apparently without noticing their appalling smell. They were not an appetizing sight. The corpses were moving. The worms had obviously started on them.

Although the curiously detached tone throughout and the sharp specific detail might encourage such a mistake, this book should not be read as a factual account of a particular hideous entombment. This is not a *document*; it is a fine creative achievement. Time, for example, which the characters cannot comprehend, is made vivid to the reader in the inexorable accumulation of the rubbish of mere physical living. The captives, in their concrete labyrinth, have no means of disposing of food scraps, empty bottles, tins and barrels, cigarette ends, excrement, or the dead. All this debris is their *past*, and as it is ever present to them, time cannot move for these men. In this, and not in the hair-raising or macabre particulars, is the unnerving vision of horror at the center of a remarkable novel.

Impatience with Freedom

FREEDOM, VIRTUE AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT. By Walter Berns. Louisiana State University Press. 264 pp. $4.

George D. Braden

IN THIS fascinating but essentially unsound book about the First Amendment* Professor Berns does three things. First, he analyzes the United States Supreme Court's gyrations in First Amendment freedom of speech cases and concludes that the cases as a whole are a hopeless mishmash based upon an incorrect theory. Second, he attacks the fundamental philosophy in support of freedom of speech and, indeed, the fundamental theory of democracy. Finally, he offers a prescription for bringing order out of chaos—namely, to add "virtue" as a factor in judging freedom; in effect, to judge speech by whether it is good or bad.

The last of these is both the easiest and the most difficult to criticize. It is child's play to note, as Professor Berns himself does from time to time when analyzing parts of judicial opinions, that words of value are dangerous. They are so filled with meaning that they are without precision. One man's "good" is another's "bad." On the other hand, it is most difficult to quarrel with a man who seeks as you do the Good Life. Professor Berns is not a doctrinaire of the right—at least not in this book—who expounds the "correct" line. He is sure only that those who exalt freedom of speech miss the point, and that we must try to solve our problems by a new approach — by exalting virtue. It is always difficult to say that you are against virtue.

The key to Professor Berns's thesis is his attack on the fundamentals of democracy. He asserts that what the defenders of civil liberties call democracy is only a process and an empty one at that. It is empty because it is amoral, and amoral government is bad government. What Professor Berns overlooks is that we who believe in freedom, especially freedom of speech, endeavor to accommodate the moral needs of a society within narrow limits. Acts of government must be "moral," but they need not encompass all of life. Our crying need today is hardly a hagiocracy.

If, as Professor Berns believes, most of us yearn for a good society, then our democratic government will move, in faltering steps to be sure, toward that society. We will not arrive as soon as we might if a commanding presence could channel all our efforts in the right direction. But we may arrive more surely, for the commanding presence might err. The slackness of a democratic society, the aimlessness of its movement, the tolerance for many tongues are a virtue, not a vice. Professor Berns points out that freedom to read comics is not as important as freedom to read Shakespeare. We may agree with him but still feel that our freedom to read Shakespeare is the more secure when our neighbor is free to read trash.

IT is in his analysis of Supreme Court cases that Professor Berns is at his best. He demonstrates admirably the confused development of the "clear and present danger" rule and the on-again, off-again attempts by various Justices to explain why the Court should interfere in civil liberties matters whilst giving legislatures free reign in economic matters.* Unfortunately, this is a surface analysis that betrays a lack of perception of the judicial process at work. Anyone can take a group of Supreme Court opinions and demonstrate (a) inconsistency, (b) lack of clarity, and (c) downright confusion. What one must realize is that this is inevitable.

The United States Supreme Court is several things at once. It is a collegiate body; like the French Assembly, it is plagued by shifting coalitions, and this prevents straight line advance. The Court is a judicial body; the rules of judging—e.g., a court should dispose of a case on the narrowest issue necessary to decision—play hob with great, burning political issues. The Court is a political body; it has the most pregnant political issues of the day thrown at it and it must not move too fast, particularly against the political tide, for fear it will jeopardize its own power. A sympathetic student will be satisfied to note the Court's meanderings; he will not ridicule the Court as Professor Berns comes close to doing.

This lack of perception of the judicial process is of a piece with Professor Berns's impatience with the frailties of democracy. After two hundred years of liberalism in the Western world, we seem to be no nearer to the perfect life than we were when Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau spoke. Professor Berns is all for eliminating this nonsense and going back to stern precepts of virtue and honesty and right living. With due respect to all concerned, it seems that Professor Berns wants to be the Billy Graham of political science.

*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

*Curiously enough, he omits all consideration of what some of us believe to be the best explanation of the distinction between the two types of legislation. Justice Stone tentatively set forth the theory in a footnote in *United States v. Carolene Products Co.*, 304 U.S. 144, 152n. (1938) when he intimated that if the Court is to leave economic and social matters to the legislature, the least it can do is to assure the freedom of political processes by which poor legislation can be corrected.

GEORGE D. BRADEN, former associate professor at the Yale Law School, is the author of a number of articles on Constitutional Law and the Supreme Court.

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FILMS

Robert Hatch

AT THE risk of sounding slow-witted, I must complain that Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* was a little too difficult for me. I had to concentrate so narrowly on the labyrinth of the plot that I never broke out in the cold sweat which is the emotional reward of a good thriller. Even so, I'm not sure that I could successfully diagram the evil stratagem. Mr. Hitchcock is employing in this film an impressionist manner which is the last word in whodunit sophistication and which relieves the storyteller of the need to demonstrate that the time schedule will work, that the corpse will keep its secrets, or that the various gulls will indeed assume what they are intended to assume. In the end, it is not a murder that inspires entire confidence.

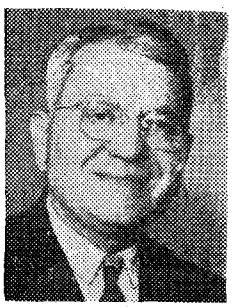
This may sound finicky—who cares about the plausibility of *The Lady Vanishes?* But *Vertigo* belongs to a less innocent school of hocus-pocus. The story is the work of Pierre Boileau and Thomas Narcejac, who also provided Clouzot with the plot for *Diabolique,* and these two fabricators operate in the area of up-to-date psychology. So the spectator is encouraged to ask not only *could* it, but *would* it happen. You undoubtedly care more about the people in this picture than you do about the inhabitants of most thrillers, but for that very reason you may the more sharply resent the contemptuous way in which they are twitched through their adventures. *Vertigo* is not as cruel a picture as *Diabolique,* but for Hitchcock it is surprisingly cruel.

On the credit side, the picture moves rapidly through some pretty San Francisco and Northern California coastal scenery, and James Stewart carries out his detective and romantic assignments with easy grace and warmth. Kim Novak is excellently eye-catching in costumes a size too small for her; she seems stultified, but the plot calls for repressed behavior and I could not tell whether this was a case of good acting or good casting. Barbara Bel Geddes is given an important and faintly sinister role with horn-rimmed glasses; this comes to nothing, however, and that sort of false emphasis is a real defect in the game of crime chess.

THE sales pitch for the musical version of *Gigi* is that *My Fair Lady* was great. This raises awkward comparisons because Alan Lerner and Frederick Loewe will probably never repeat the hysterical success of the Shaw adaptation, and yet they have made a very nice show out of Colette's durable comedy. Mr. Loewe's talent is unusual—he writes songs for people who cannot sing. This means that the shows he works on can be cast for charm rather than voice, in the knowledge that Mr. Lerner's intelligent lyrics and some exceedingly deft orchestration will carry even a magpie through an aria.

In this case the principle works up to a point—no one is going to pretend that Leslie Caron, Maurice Chevalier and Hermione Gingold lack almost overpowering charm. The case for Louis Jourdan is less clear, and the gamble you must take when paying the present very steep prices for *Gigi* is whether or not you can tolerate M.

Atomic Scientist DR. HAROLD C. UREY says:



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Jourdan. I preferred to concentrate on Chevalier, who accepts his age with a rueful good nature that steals the show. He has one song—"Thank Heaven for Little Girls"—which seemed to me ill-suited to his years and raffish manner, but there are others which he sings with lovely style (though no longer with any pretense of a voice) and with light suggestions of his younger *panache* that will wring sighs from those mature enough to remember.

Gigi is, of course, as de luxe as pressed duck: costumes and sets by Cecil Beaton, scenery by Paris, money by truckloads—all bathed in the romance of spring color. Early in the story there's a song called "It's a Bore," and smart show people never tempt the obvious that way unless they know they are home safe.

STAY away from *Folies Bergère.* It is a French idea of what will amuse those stupid Americans.

SEQUELS to hilarious comedies rarely keep the pace, but for the first half hour I thought *Blue Murder at St. Trinians* was going to make it. Then it ran out of ideas and dissolved in panicky hysteria. In this adventure, the little horrors of Ronald's Searles's school for incorrigible infants have grown to bathing-beauty size. They are delinquents rather than monsters, and the joke becomes arch.

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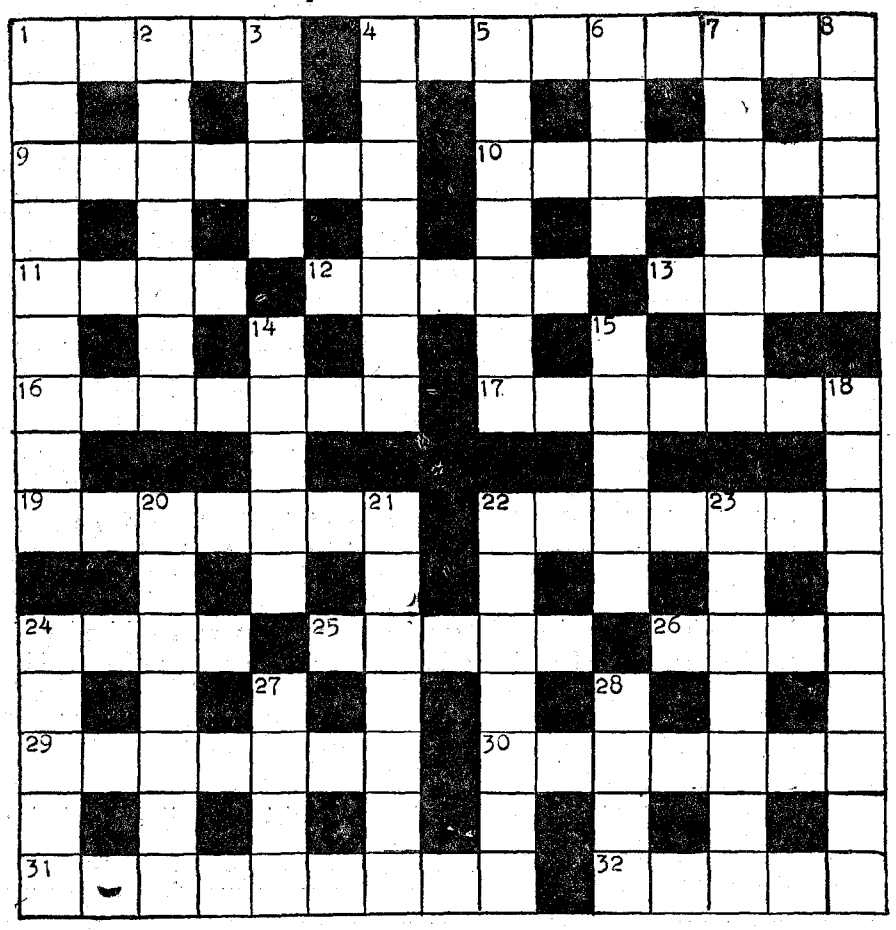
Crossword Puzzle No. 776

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Shouldn't have an express purpose in the neighborhood. (5)
4 Designed for the rest of the members? (The lower body, that is.) (9)
9 Certainly not athletic outings! (7)
10 and 28 down They would never be expected to call for a pass. (7, 4)
11 and 29 For example, Campbell design might be secret. (11)
12and13 Judicial aphorisms might be cutting. (5, 4)
16 Pig-Latin for tipsters, to last longer. (7)
17 With the return of the court, pledges should be groovey! (7)
19 Bullies typified by Berlioz. (7)
22 The players came first and moved to protect the king. (7)
24 and 26 Might take care of fall in winter. (4, 4)
25 The little boy who brought up 6 under a different name. (5)
26 See 24 across
29 See 11 across
30 The first letter is not always A. (7)
31 Spread out and passed around, it is shown. (9)
32 Droop like some stories. (5)

DOWN:

1 Look in the ministry for a primitive garment! (9)
2 and 3 Does it provide a rather unobtrusive spectacle? (7, 4)
4 It should be a good place to catch, if ardent, yet quiet-hearted. (7)
5 The master or any of the mates. (7)
6 Sensitive in one point or another. (4)
7 Deprive of one element, like the big lummox I keep company with? (7)
8 Stalls. (5)
14 Make sharp upturns in one direction? (5)
15 Confound salt residue! (5)
18 Evidently the whole team gets to first base, by the way! (9)
20 Obviously doesn't act like a beggar! (7)
21 Dull. (7)
22 Should it call your attention to Mexican food for a thousand years? (7)
23 Swinging. (7)
24 Acted like a partisan? (5)
27 23's sort no can make the measure! (4)
28 See 10 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 775

Across: 1 STEERING WHEELS; 8 SEE AT A GLANCE; 10 EMIGRATING; 11 STYE; 13 ARGUFY; 14 EXCERPTS; 16 ICE CREAM; 17 PEANUT; 19 AWLS; 20 ALTOGETHER; 22 TRAFFIC LIGHT; 23 DEUTEROGAMISTS. Down: 1 SYSTEMATICALLY; 2 EVENING BELLS; 3 RETURN FARE; 4 NIGHTS; 5 WHAT NEXT; 6 EACH; 7 SUPERSATURATES; 9 STEP ON THE GAS; 12 CEREBELLUM; 15 CALLS FOR; 18 LOWING; 21 TROT.

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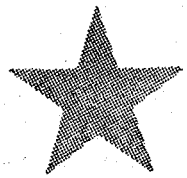
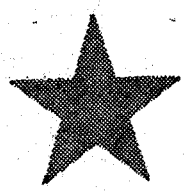


for that bright young graduate



Dear Sirs: Just a note to tell you how much I enjoyed the May 17 issue of The Nation, *in which appeared "The Class of '58 Speaks Up." It made a wonderful week's bouquet. I am ordering some extra copies as graduation gifts for my favorite seniors....*

JOHN V. MURRA
Dept. of Economics, Sociology and Anthropology, Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

As a teacher, Mr. Murra had to distribute his generosity among many seniors. But you, as a *Nation* reader who undoubtedly has one favorite bright young graduate getting a baccalaureate this month, can *concentrate* yours.

Give that favorite bright young graduate a six-month trial subscription to *The Nation* for $4—or, better still, a full year's subscription.

The chances are that your bright, young friend—or son, or daughter—already knows *The Nation*, and one way or another, directly or indirectly, *has already spoken through it.* For "The Class of '58 Speaks Up"* is only one of many articles *The Nation* has run during the past year which articulated campus thought.

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